

THE
ROMAN HISTORY

FROM THE
FOUNDATION of R O M E
TO THE
BATTLE of ACTIUM:

THAT IS,
To the End of the COMMONWEALTH.

V O L. XII.

By Mr CREVIER, *Professor of Rhetorick in
the College of Beauvais, being the Continuation of
Mr ROLLIN's Work.*

Translated from the FRENCH.

The SECOND EDITION.

Illustrated with Maps, and Copper Plates.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. and P. KNAPTON, in Ludgate-Street.

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MDCCLV.



**Names of the CONSULS and of the
YEARS contained in this Volume.**

D. JUNIUS SILANUS. A. R. 690.
L. LICINIUS MURENA. Ant. C. 62.

M. PUPIUS PISO. A. R. 691.
M. VALERIUS MESSALLA NIGER. Ant. C. 61.

L. AFRANIUS. A. R. 692.
Q. METELLUS CELER. Ant. C. 60.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR. A. R. 693.
M. CALPURNIUS BIBULUS. Ant. C. 59.

L. CALPURNIUS PISO. A. R. 694.
A. GABINIUS. Ant. C. 58.

P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER. A. R. 695.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS. Ant. C. 57.

CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS. A. R. 696.
L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS. Ant. C. 56.

CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS II. A. R. 697.
M. LICINIUS CRASSUS II. Ant. C. 55.

L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS. A. R. 698.
AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER. Ant. C. 54.

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ROMAN HISTORY.

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S E C T. I.

Cæsar Prætor. Cato Tribune. A comparison between them, by Sallust. Cæsar Sovereign Pontiff. He endeavours to give Catulus trouble on account of rebuilding the capitol, but to no purpose. He is again impeached by Curius and Vettius, as an accomplice in Catiline's conspiracy. Several are condemned on the accusation of Vettius. Vettius renders himself suspected. The Tribune Metellus Nepos attacks Cicero, and is checked by the Senate. The same Tribune, supported by Cæsar, proposes a law to recall Pompey with his army into Italy, to reform and pacify the State. Cato demanded

JUNIUS, LICINIUS, Consuls.

the Tribunitian dignity, merely with a view of opposing the turbulent designs of Metellus. A mean, which he imagined would weaken the power of Cæsar. He resists the law of Metellus, with a constancy that was almost a prodigy. The Consul Murena rescues Cato from danger. The enterprize of Metellus fails. Metellus and Cæsar are forbid, by the Senate, to exercise the functions of their employments. Cæsar submits, and is re-established. Cato obtains the same favour for Metellus. What part Cicero took in this whole affair. Pompey repudiates Mucia. The triumph of Q. Metellus Creticus. The election of Consuls for the year following. The Character of Clodius. He profanes the mysteries of the good goddess. Instructions for the process against him. Cicero deposes against him. The Judges suffer themselves to be corrupted. Clodius is absolved. Cicero re-animates the courage of good men, whom this judgment had dismayed. Pompey, on his arrival in Italy, disbands his troops. Cicero endeavours to engage Pompey to explain himself favourably on his Consulship. The equivocal conduct of Pompey. Pompey buys the Consulship for Afranius. A fruitless attempt of Pompey to gain over Cato. Indians drove by a tempest on the coasts of Germany. The third triumph of Pompey.

A. R. 690.
A. R. C. 62.

D. JUNIUS SILANUS.

L. LICINIUS MURENA.

Cæsar
Prætor :
Cato Tri-
bune.

CÆSAR and Cato, this year, found themselves both employed, one as Prætor, the other as Tribune: and the difference there was in their characters and principles, which had already,



already, more than once, created misunderstandings between them, particularly in the debate upon punishing the Conspirators, carried them, at the time I am now speaking of, into a most violent dissention, which could not in its consequences but more and more increase. Never were two men with great talents more opposite to one another in maxims and conduct. Sallust has compared them, but in such a manner, as shewed he had a mind to flatter the picture of Cæsar.

A. R. 890.
Ann. C. 62.

“ They were very near equals, says that
“ Historian (a), in birth, age, eloquence: *A comparison between them by Sallust.*
“ like in greatness of soul, equal in glory,
“ but of very different kinds. Cæsar had ac-
“ quired a great name, by his generosity and
“ magnificence; Cato by his unblameable
“ manners. One was admired for the sweet-
“ ness of his temper, and his clemency; the
“ other for his severity. Cæsar had gained a
“ shining character, by making large presents,

(a) His genus, ætas, eloquentia, prope æqualia fuisse: magnitudo animi par, item gloria, sed alia alii. Cæsar beneficiis ac munificentia magnus habebatur, integritate vitæ Cato. Ille mansuetudine & misericordia clarus factus: huic severitas dignitatem addiderat: Cæsar dando, sublevando, ignoscendo; Cato nihil largiundo gloriam adeptus est. In altero miseri persegium, in altero malis perniciēs. Illius facilitas, hujus constantia laudabatur. Postremo Cæsar in animum induxerat vigilare, laborare; negotiis

amicorum contentus sua negligere; nihil denegare, quod dono dignum esset: sibi magnum imperium, exercitum, bellum novum exoptabat, ubi virtus enitescere posset. At Catoni studium modestiæ, decoris, sed maxime severitatis erat. Non divitiis cum divite, neque factione cum factioso; sed cum strenuo virtute, cum modesto pudore, cum innocente abstinentiâ certabat: esse, quam videri, bonus malebat: ita, quæ minus gloriam petebat, eò magis adsequebatur. Sall. Cat.

A. R. 590.
Ant. C. 52.

“ by protecting those who fled to him for
 “ succour, and by shewing himself always
 “ ready to forgive ; Cato by never shewing
 “ any favour. One was the resource of the
 “ unhappy, the other the scourge of the
 “ wicked. The easiness of the first was com-
 “ mended, and the constancy of the second.
 “ In short, Cæsar had made it a rule with him
 “ to spare neither care or pains : taken up
 “ with the interests of his friends, he neg-
 “ lected his own. He never missed an oc-
 “ casion to gratify and oblige whom he might.
 “ He wished for some distinguished post ; a
 “ command in the army, a new war, where
 “ his merit might appear to advantage. Cato,
 “ on the other hand, shewed himself a lover
 “ of modesty, an observer of decency, and,
 “ above all, of severity. He did not endea-
 “ vour to excel the rich in their wealth, nor
 “ the factious in the spirit of faction and ca-
 “ bal ; but he contended for magnanimity with
 “ the most courageous, for modesty with the
 “ most reserved ; and with the most irreproach-
 “ able for disinterestedness and integrity : he
 “ sought more to be an honest man, than to
 “ appear so ; and by his conduct, the less he
 “ ran after glory, the more he seemed to look
 “ for it.”

Nothing is juster than the idea that Sallust here gives of Cato. But with regard to Cæsar, he ought to have drawn him, as he promised, according (a) to the best that his genius would allow him. He shews only the superficial part of Cæsar's conduct, without penetrating into the principles upon which he acted. To have

(a) Quantum ingenio possem.

finished his picture he ought to have said, A. R. 690.
Ant. C. 62. that Cæsar made every thing subservient to his own advancement; that he thought nothing sacred that stood in the way of his ambition; that to him virtue was only a name, the public good a chimera: that never any one, with less scruple, trampled under foot, all that are called laws, honesty, religion and principles: In a word, if no man was ever more aimable in conversation, there never was one with a heart more corrupt in its morals, nor a citizen more dangerous to the State. What I have here advanced concerning Cæsar, is already proved, in part, by the facts that I have related, and will be more and more so as his projects are laid open.

He added much the year before to the figure Cæsar so-
vereign
Pontiff. he already made, by the dignity of sovereign Pontiff, which he obtained from the People. This place, sole and perpetual, which puts the person who is invested with it at the head of all religion, and of all the colleges of Priests, and the authority of which is so great, that all the Emperors from the time of Augustus took it upon themselves, excluding all private persons from it, this place was the object of the ambition of the first citizens of the Commonwealth. It was just become vacant by the death of Dio. l.
xxxvii.
Plut. Cæs.
Suet. Cæs.
c. 13. Metellus Pius. Servilius Isauricus and Catulus, both of consular dignity, and very powerful in the Senate, were prepared to ask for it; but the authority of these two competitors so redoubtable, did not hinder Cæsar from putting in for it, who had never yet possessed any other curule employment but the ædileship, and he soon gave a brisk alarm to his opponents. Catulus, who feared the affront of a denial the more, as

A. R. 690.
A. E. C. 62.

he was more exalted in his dignity, offered him a very considerable sum of money, if he would desist from his pretensions: but Cæsar answered him, that he would expend a much larger sum himself to succeed in his design. In short he made such prodigious largesses, and distributed so much money among the Tribes, that he had been lost without resource, and must have banished himself from Rome, if his enterprize had failed. This he declared himself to his mother on the day of the election. For when she embraced him, with tears in her eyes at the time he appeared in the Forum. *My mother, said he, you will this day see your son either sovereign Pontiff or a fugitive.* He was very far from being in danger of the last, for he carried his point with so high a hand against the other candidates, that he had more suffrages in their own Tribes than they had in all the Tribes put together.

I have related how Catulus went about to revenge himself on Cæsar, by endeavouring to involve him in the affair of the conspiracy. Cæsar was not long before he turned the tables upon him, and after the first of January, when he entered upon the exercise of the Prætorship, he undertook to cite him before the People, and to oblige him to give an account of the money that had passed through his hands for rebuilding the capitol, with which he was intrusted, as I have said in its place. He pretended that Catulus had misapplied a part of this money to his own use, and in consequence demanded, that his name should be erased from the frontispiece of the temple, and that the super-intendance of that great edifice, and the care of finishing what was yet to be done should

He endeavours to trouble Catulus on account of rebuilding the Capitol.

JUNIUS, LICINIUS, Consuls.

7

should be transferred to Pompey. Cæsar had taken his time to move this affair while the chief members of the Senate were in the train of the new Consuls, and assisting them to take possession of the capitol. The news of what had passed coming to Catulus, he ran to the Forum to defend himself, and prepared to mount the Tribunal: but Cæsar, not fearing to outrage so illustrious a person, ordered him to stay below, as one accused of a crime. In the mean time the Senators, leaving the ceremony of the capitol, came and ranged themselves about Catulus, and they so resolutely opposed the injustice that was going to be done to one of the principal ornaments of their order, that Cæsar was obliged to abandon his design.

He found himself, in his turn, not a little embarrassed. The suspicions, of which he had never well purged himself, on account of the part he might have had in Catiline's conspiracy, were renewed. Q. Curius, he who had given so much and so good advice to Cicero, named Cæsar, in full Senate, among the accomplices. A new accuser, Q. Vettius, a Roman Knight, by whom several of the culpable had been discovered, impeached him also to Novius Niger the Quæstor, who, it is very likely, was charged with receiving the deposition of this Vettius.

He is again impeached, by Curius and Vettius, as an accomplice in Catiline's conspiracy. Suet. Cæs. c. 17.

Cæsar talked in a high tone. He said it was mean and insupportable to have those accusations renewed which he pretended were out of date and already overthrown. He called upon the testimony of Cicero, to whom he affirmed, that he had given lights concerning the conspiracy: and complained with great

A. R. 690.
Ant. C. 62.

warmth, that Curius had been deprived of those rewards that had been promised him by the Senate. As to Vettius, Cæsar did himself justice on him. He condemned that informer to a fine, which according to the custom of the Romans, he would have forced him to give security for the payment of, and for want of that, caused his goods to be sold by outcry. Not content with this, he turned him over to the People, and after having exposed him to the fury of the multitude, who were going to tear him to pieces, he had him thrown into prison. He also sent the Quæstor Niger to the same place, for failing in the respect that was due to him, and receiving an information against a Magistrate his superior. We shall find Cæsar, in his Consulship, producing this same Vettius to act a quite different part.

*Several
are con-
demned on
the accusa-
tion of Vet-
tius.*

*Sallust in
Cic.*

At the time I am speaking of, Vettius rendered a very good service to the Commonwealth, by facilitating the means of dissipating the remains of the conspiracy. For besides those who had shewn themselves again, and who, having held several riotous assemblies in different parts of Italy, were suppressed and overcame by arms, many had kept themselves concealed, and were unknown: these Vettius detected; they were arrested, and, their processes being made out, they were condemned either to death, or amercements. Cicero had a great share in these condemnations; and Sallust, at least the invective that passes under his name, reproaches him with having erected a tribunal in his own house, from whence he passed those bloody sentences, in conjunction with his wife Terentia. But the piece from whence this fact is taken, is filled with such atrocious

atrocious and senseless calumnies, that it does not deserve any credit. A. R. 690.
Ant. C. 62.

Vettius was a very dishonest man, and soon gave reason for some extraordinary suspicions against himself: for having presented the Senate with a list containing the names of the conspirators he knew, he afterwards asked for it back again, to add some new names to it. It was apprehended, that there was some fraud in this demand, and therefore it was refused him. He was ordered to declare, *viva voce*, the names of those that he remembered, which gave him a good deal of confusion and perplexity. Moreover, this fatal list being kept secret, gave much uneasiness to many citizens, who apprehended that their names might be found it. The Senate, to deliver the innocent from such alarms, published the list, by which mens minds were satisfied.

It is reasonable to suppose, that Cicero could not but be rendered odious by all these enquiries. The Tribune Metellus Nepos, in concert with Cæsar, continually declaimed against him, and prepared to accuse him and cite him before the People, for having put to death several citizens, without proceeding against them according to due form of law. The cause of Cicero was that of the Senate. They were very sensible of it, and confirmed and ratified a new what had passed in his Consulship, declaring, that whoever went about to give him any trouble thereon, should be looked upon as an enemy to his country. This decree imposed silence on Metellus with regard to Cicero. The Tribune Metellus Nepos attacks Cicero, and is checked by the Senate. Dio.

But, still supported by Cæsar, he started a new affair, which partly tended to the same end, and excited the most violent commotions. The same Tribune, supported by Cæsar, He proposes a

A. R. 690. He proposed the recalling Pompey into Italy
 Ant. C. 62. with his army, to reform and pacify the State.
law, to recall Metellus was brother or cousin to Pompey's
Pompey, wife Mucia, and sought his own elavation in
with his that of so near an ally. Cæsar followed the
army, into same scheme of advancing himself under the
Italy, to shade of Pompey, and of raising that citizen,
reform and who already overtopped all the rest, to as great
pacify the a height as possible, that he might, by his
State. credit at last, obtain means to supplant him.
 Dio. Both of them aimed at destroying the power of
 Plut. in Cicero, whom they used tyrannically.
 Cæf. &
 Cic. &
 Cat.

*Cato had
 demanded
 the Tribu-
 nian dig-
 nity, mere-
 ly to oppose
 the turbu-
 lent designs
 of Metel-
 lus.*

It was happy for Cicero and the Republic,
 that Cato was Tribune of the People : but this
 was not the effect of blind chance ; it was the
 wisdom and courage of that excellent citizen
 that had determined him to take that employ-
 ment upon him, merely to oppose the rage
 of Metellus, which he had foreseen : for in the
 preceding year, when every thing was quiet,
 and his friends exhorted him to demand the
 Tribuneship, he would not give ear to it, be-
 cause he was willing to reserve himself for a
 time, when the Commonwealth might have
 need of his services. He even went out of
 Rome, and having taken his books and some
 philosophers for his companions, was actually
 on the road, with a design to pass a time in
 Lucania, where he had lands, when he met a
 large train of horses and baggage in his way,
 and, upon enquiry, found they belonged to
 Metellus Nepos, who, coming from the army
 of Pompey, was going to Rome to demand
 the Tribuneship. He stopped for a moment,
 and after having a little reflected with himself,
 he ordered his people to return towards the
 city. His friends were astonished at this sud-
 den change. *Do you not know,* said he to them,
that

that Metellus is a furious man, from whom every thing is to be feared? And now he comes hither in a good understanding with Pompey, it may produce a storm that will fall upon the Common-Wealth, and overturn every thing. It is not therefore a time for me to taste the pleasures of leisure, nor take a journey to my lands; but to overcome this furious man, or die with courage in defence of liberty. Nevertheless Cato suffered himself to be prevailed upon to go through his journey; but he stayed but a very little time before he returned to Rome.

A. R. 690.
Ant. C. 62.

He arrived in the evening, and the next morning, put himself among those who stood for the Tribuneship. At first he had but a few friends with him: but when his intentions were known, all the best citizens and every good man crowded about him, exhorting him, encouraging him, and protesting to him, that they did not think it was Cato that would be obliged to them for giving him the employment, but that the Commonwealth would have great obligations to Cato, who had suffered the time to pass wherein he might have enjoyed the tribunitian dignity in perfect tranquillity, and now presented himself to combat, not without danger, in defence of liberty and the laws.

He was accordingly named Tribune with Metellus Nepos, and eight others; and before he entered on his office, besides the signal service he did the Commonwealth, by determining the suffrages of the Senators with respect to the punishment of the conspirators, he rendered it still another, which tended directly to weaken the power of Cæsar: For the Prætorship of the last was dreaded, who had all the populace at his command, and especially

A mean
which he
imagined
would
weaken the
power of
Cæsar.

A.R. 690.
Ant. C. 62.

the most unworthy, men who are always ready to give themselves up to any who offer them wherewithal to relieve their wants. Cato persuaded the Senate to order a free distribution of corn by the month, which in reality loaded the state with an expence of * five millions five hundred thousand drachma's each year; but which nevertheless was looked upon as very useful, since it took from Cæsar a great number of Partisans, and cooled the zeal of the rest.

Cato contributed very much to render ineffectual the personal attacks that Metellus made upon Cicero. He extolled his Consulship to the heavens, and I have already said, after Plutarch, that he gave Cicero the glorious title of *Father of his country*. But it was principally against the law which recalled Pompey into Italy, that he contended with his greatest strength, and ran the greatest danger.

*He resists
the law of
Metellus
with a
constancy,
that was
almost a
prodigy.*

The return of Pompey, with a powerful army to Rome, which was indeed to make himself master of the Commonwealth, was sufficiently dreaded; therefore Cato had great reason to oppose the law of his colleague. However he at first tried the way of gentleness and persuasion. He made representations to him, in the senate, full of friendship: he even condescended to beseech him, much praising, at the same time, the constancy with which Metellus's family had always maintained Aristocratical principles, and exhorting Nepos not to degenerate from the glory of his ancestors. Nepos it seems was of a mean spirit, who seeing himself courted, became the more haughty,

* About 137,500 l. sterling.

and imagined he was feared. He therefore grew obstinate, used menaces and rodomontades, and pretended that he would bring about what he had undertaken, in spite of the Senate. Cato then altering the tone of his voice and his countenance, declared, in more express terms than ever, that as long as he lived, Pompey should not enter, with any army, into the city. The dispute grew to such an height, that they both seemed to be beside, and not to know, themselves. But it might be easily distinguished, says Plutarch, that this transport in one was a real fury whose origine was vicious, and whose end would have been fatal to the Commonwealth; and that in the other it was the enthusiasm of a virtuous mind, struggling in the cause of justice and liberty.

The day now approached, wherein the People, according to the scheme of Metellus, were to give their suffrages; and this Tribune, resolving to have the law pass by violence, had provided a quantity of arms, and got together foreign soldiers, gladiators, and slaves, a part of whom he had taken care to distribute in different parts of the Forum the evening before. He had for him a great part of the People, always desirous of novelties; and Cæsar supported him with all his credit, and with all the authority that was given him by the Prætorship. Cato was almost alone. The first People in the city thought as he did, and inwardly favoured him, but they scarce assisted him with any thing but their wishes. All his family were in affliction and alarms. His friends were so much overcome with grief that they could scarce eat; they passed all the evening together in reasoning to no purpose on the present

A. R. 690.
Ant. C. 62.

present circumstance ; his wife and his sisters lamented him. Tranquil and intrepid himself, he comforted those whom he saw afflicted about him. He supped at his usual hour, and passed the night very quietly, insomuch that he was yet asleep, when Minucius Thermus, the only one of his colleagues who acted in concert with him, came in the morning to give him notice, that it was time to be in the Forum, or rather field of battle. They went there together, accompanied by very few People ; and were met by many who came on purpose to caution them of the danger they were running into.

When Cato arrived there, he turned his eyes on all sides, and seeing that the temple of Castor was filled with soldiers, the steps that led to the tribunal guarded by the gladiators, and Metellus seated on high with Cæsar, he returned towards his friends : *O the audacious man !* said he to them ; *and cowardly at the same time, to have assembled so many in arms against one man unarmed !* He advanced with Thermus, and those who guarded the avenues, having opened to them, he passed on with his colleague ; but Metellus's People immediately closing again would suffer no other person to pass by them, only Cato taking Munatius, one of his best friends by the hand, with some difficulty brought him up also. He then went, and seating himself between Metellus and Cæsar, interrupted their conversation. An air of confusion was immediately visible in their countenances. On the contrary, the serenity and constancy of Cato inspired the good citizens with courage, and gave them confidence to approach one another, and exhort one another

ther to unite, and not abandon the cause of liberty, or him who fought for it.

A. R. 690.
Ant. C. 62.

Then the Register would have read the law, according to custom, but Cato forbade him. Metellus took the paper, and would have read it himself. Cato snatched it from him, and, at the same time, Thermus put his hand upon his mouth, because, as he knew his law by heart, he was prepared to pronounce it without book. Metellus, thus hard put to it, gave the signal to the armed people he had distributed about the place. The Assembly immediately dispersed; and Cato was left alone, exposed to rude attacks from clubs and stones. The Consul Murena, who had been accused by him, came to his succour. He covered him with his gown, and crying out to the furious rabble to desist, at length persuaded Cato himself to retire into the temple of Castor.

This generosity of Murena, without doubt, was very laudable. But it may be said, that Cato deserved it, because he had used him with no incivility or austerity, but merely as the justice of the cause required. He shewed no malice on such occasions, to the persons, but friendship and benevolence even to those whom he found himself obliged to offend. Murena, who was a worthy man, and of a gentle disposition, distinguishing this behaviour of Cato, and forgetting all that was personal to him, admired his virtues, and conducted himself in all things by his counsels.

The Consul Murena rescues Cato from danger.

Metellus, seeing his adversaries put to flight, thought he had gained the victory, and sending away his attendants, reckoned that all would go on quietly, and that his law would have been received. But those who opposed it, re-

The enterprize of Metellus fails.

assembling

A. R. 690.
Ant. C. 62.

assembled, ran about with great outcries. Metellus and his people were altogether disconcerted; they feared, that their adversaries had got arms privately, so took to flight in their turn, and left the field open to Cato, who presently ascended the tribunal of harangues, and by a speech suitable to the occasion, fortified and encouraged the minds of the people.

*Metellus
and Cæsar
are forbid
to exercise
the func-
tions of
their em-
ployments.*

This resistance of Cato gave fresh vigour to the Senate, who, by a decree, gave charge to the Consuls to watch for the safety of the city, and with Cato, to oppose a law which gave it trouble. The Senate even went so far, as to forbid Metellus and Cæsar to exercise the functions of their offices. These would at first have resisted it; but their faction was so intimidated, that all that Metellus could do was to inveigh against the pretended tyranny of Cato, and to threaten the Senators, that they should repent of having conspired against Pompey, and affronting so great a man. After which he went out of Rome, and began his march to go into Asia, although, as Tribune, it was not allowed him to leave the city, or lie one night out of it.

*Cæsar sub-
mits, and
is re-esia-
blished.*

As to Cæsar, he conducted himself with more prudence. After having sounded the ford, and finding himself on the weakest side, he submitted with a good grace, sent back his Lictors, and, having laid aside the *toga prætexta*, shut himself up in his own house. He did more: he refused the offers of a multitude who gathered together of themselves, and shewed they were disposed to maintain him by force, in the dignity of his office. The Senate, who did not expect so much moderation from him, were charmed with it.

They

They sent for him, and re-established him, A. R. 690.
Ant. C. 62. giving him many praises, and ordering the decree of his interdiction to be blotted out of the register. This indulgence shewed to Cæsar extended also to Metellus, and Cato contributed greatly thereto by his representations. Cato obtains the same favour for Metellus. This conduct did him honour. It was seen, that he had both generosity enough not to insult a vanquished foe, and prudence enough not to irritate Pompey. Metellus, who, it is very likely, was not got far, returned to Rome, and re-entered upon his office.

In all this affair, Cicero seemed to act but little, although he was very much interested in it. He opposed great moderation to the transports of Nepos, preserving, nevertheless, his rank and his dignity; for he resisted with vigour when he found himself attacked, and even pronounced a discourse against him, which is lost. But when he was to give his opinion in the Senate, he always followed the mildest counsels. What part Cicero took in this whole of-fair. This we learn from himself, in a very fine letter to Metellus Celer, brother or cousin of Nepos. Cic. ad Att. l. 13. A Gell. xviii. 7. Cic. ad Fam. v. 2. Celer, had reproached him with a good deal of pride. Cicero answered him better, justifying himself without meanness, and refuting him without rudeness. This caution of Cicero with regard to Nepos, without doubt, was owing to Metellus Celer, who was a person of merit, and especially to Pompey, who was allied to them both. This did not prevent his living, for a time, with Nepos on the foot of an enemy. But he gathered the fruits of his moderation in the end, when the other employed his interest in getting him recalled from banishment, as we shall observe in its place.

A. R. 690. At the end of this year, Pompey, on his
 Ant. C. 62. return from, the war he had made in the East,
Pompey and approaching Italy, broke the alliance be-
repudiates tween him and the Metelli, by divorcing his
Mucia. wife Mucia, of which I have spoke elsewhere.
 Cic. ad Cicero tells us, that this divorce was very much
 Att. I. 12. approved of.

*The tri-
 umph of
 Q. Metel-
 lus Creti-
 cus.* Q. Metellus Creticus, whose triumph had
 Frein- been for a long time retarded by the intrigues
 them. ciii. and chicanery even of Pompey, at length ob-
 8. tained it, and it was celebrated on the first of
 June. But it wanted what would have been
 the principal ornament of it, I mean the van-
 quished Cretan chiefs, Lasthenes and Panares,
 whom a Tribune of the people claimed as the
 prisoners of Pompey.

*The elec-
 tion of
 Consuls for
 the year
 following.* M. Pupius Piso, the Lieutenant and creature
 of Pompey, took his time early to demand
 the Consulship ; and Pompey, who thought
 nothing could be denied him in the height of
 glory and power he then was, wrote to the
 Senate, to desire they would defer the assem-
 blies, wherein the election of magistrates was
 to be made, that he might have time to come
 to them, and support in person the interest of
 his Lieutenant. In the Senate they were in-
 clinable enough to grant his request : but Cato
 opposed it ; not that he looked upon the thing
 as very important of itself, but that Pompey
 might not be authorized thereby to pretend
 to give laws. The assemblies therefore were
 held at the ordinary time, which did not hin-
 der Pompey's recommendation from having
 its effect, Pupius was unanimously elected,
 and had M. Valerius Messalla given him for his
 Collegue.

All things were calm, and the stroke that was given by the factions to shake the plan of government established by Cicero in his Consulship, fell, with disgrace, upon the authors of it. The conclusion of this year was marked with an adventure horrible in itself, and which in its consequences embroiled the state of affairs, and gave the worst citizens the upper-hand again.

I have already spoke of Clodius, and had occasion to make his character known. Never was a man seen with more rashness, more petulance, or more corruption. Without reserve or modesty, vice, only vice seemed to have any charms for him. Notwithstanding this assemblage of bad qualities, his name, his birth, and his alliances gave him great credit; and so much the more, as he had talents necessary to gain the multitude, a popular eloquence, and a prodigality, that regarded neither the public funds, nor his own private fortune, provided he could make himself creatures by his largesses.

The character of Clodius.

He loved Pompeia, the wife of Cæsar, who, on her side, had not sense enough to repulse him: but Aurelia, the mother of Cæsar, a severe and virtuous lady, watched her daughter-in-law so closely, that the intrigues of Clodius and Pompeia were very much restrained. The mysteries of the good goddesses, which were this year celebrated in the house of Cæsar, seemed a fair opportunity to them both. These pretended mysteries were actually accompanied with such infamous deeds, that it is no wonder that they served for the scene of an invitation to their adultery.

A. R. 690.
Ant. C. 62.

*Clodius
prophanes
the myste-
ries of the
Good God-
dess.*

It is known, that the house where this feast was celebrated, was entirely given up to the women. All the men, even the master of it himself, were obliged to go out of it. All the male animals were drove away; and they carried the nicety so far, as to cover every picture that had any representations of them. The darkness of the night, the frantic and dissolute rejoicings, the dances with instruments and music, were all circumstances that seemed to favour the design of Clodius. As he was yet but young, and had very little beard, he hoped, that by putting on the habit of a woman, and dressing himself like a minstrel, he might enter unknown; which he did effectually, being introduced by a slave of Pompeia's, who was in the secret. But this slave having left him, to go and acquaint her mistress with what she had done, as some time passed, Clodius found himself a good deal embarrassed. He could not rest where he was, nor did he care to go out of the way. While he shifted about from place to place, to avoid the lights, another slave, who belonged to Aurelia, observed him, and took him at first for a woman: But having conceived some suspicion from his borrowed air, she examined him, and Clodius was obliged to answer. His voice betrayed him. The slave was strangely surprized and frightened, and running to the place where the lights and the company were, cried out there was a man in the house. Aurelia immediately caused the mysteries to cease, covered the statues and the representation of the deities, and having ordered the doors to be shut, she began to search every where with flambeaux. Clodius was at length

length found in the chamber of the slave who had introduced him : and all the women gathering about him he was driven out of the house.

A. R. 690.
Ant. C. 62.

It is easy to imagine what a noise such an adventure as this made in Rome, when it was known. All the women informed their husbands of it the same night, and the next day there was a general outcry full of indignation against Clodius, as an impious wretch, whom the Gods and the Commonwealth were both interested to punish. The Vestals renewed the sacrifice : and Cæsar repudiated his wife, who had but too much deserved it. She was granddaughter of Q. Pompeius Rufus, and of Sylla, who had been Consuls together, and of course the daughter of that young Q. Pompeius, who was killed under the Consulship of his father, and father-in-law, in the sedition excited by the Tribune Sulpicius.

Cæsar repudiates his wife.
Suet. Cæs. c. 6.

The sequel of this affair relates to the year when Pupius Piso and Messalla were Consuls.

M. PUPIUS PISO.

A. R. 691.
Ant. C. 61.

M. VALERIUS MESSALLA NIGER.

These two Consuls are characterized by Cicero, in one of his letters to Atticus. " The one, (a) Piso, says he, is of a mean spirit,

Character of the two Consuls,
Cic. ad Att. I. 13,
14, 16.

(a) Consul parvo animo & pravo — facie magis quam facetus ridiculus; nihil agens cum * populo, sejunctus ab optimatibus; à quo nihil speres boni Reipublicæ, quia non vult; nihil metuas mali, quia non audet. Ejus autem collega, & in me perhonorificus, & partium studiosus ac defensor bonarum. Cic. ad Att. I. 13.

* The editions have it, cum Republicâ. I have followed the conjecture of Muret, who seems to express what Cicero means. Piso, according to him, is wrong-headed, insulate, who is neither popular, nor a partisan of the Senate's.

A. R. 691.
Ant. C. 61.

“ and the little wit he has, is of a bad turn.
“ He endeavours to be pleasant, but is only
“ ridiculous. He is no popular Consul, and
“ separates himself entirely from the chiefs of
“ the Aristocracy. The Commonwealth has
“ no good to hope from him, because he is
“ not capable of doing any, nor any ill to
“ fear from him because he has not spirit
“ enough to undertake it. His colleague does
“ in no wise resemble him : He treats me very
“ honourably, and is attached to the best
“ party.”

The affair of Clodius very much employed these Consuls, for it was brought before the Senate by Q. Cornificius. He delivered a preparatory edict, which imported that the college of Pontiffs should be consulted on the nature of the action. The answer was, that it was an impiety. Then the Senate ordered the Consuls to propose a law to the People, to establish an extraordinary commission, which should sit in judgment upon the fact of the profanation committed in the mysteries of the good goddess. Piso was Clodius's friend ; therefore at the same time, that he proposed a law in obedience to a decree of the Senate, he started objections, and endeavoured to hinder its passing.

Clodius was in a very violent and dangerous situation. He had against him all the pillars of the Senate, the Consul Messalla, Lucullus, Hortensius, Cicero, Cato. Even Pompey, who was but recently arrived, spoke in the Senate * and before the People in a manner

* Those assemblies of the Senate and of the People, where Pompey was found, must have been held without the city, otherwise, as he pretended to a triumph, he could not have assisted at them.

little favourable to the cause of Clodius. This last used all the means imaginable to defend himself. He stirred up the rabble, who were always at his beck. Sometimes he had recourse to intreaties, and sometimes to invectives. In the Senate he prostrated himself at the feet of the Senators, and before the People he exclaimed against them: But all his efforts would have been ineffectual, if he had not gained the Tribune Q. Fufius Calenus to his interest: For the Consul Piso had absolutely no credit, being destitute of every good quality, and without any talents. Vicious (a) to excess if he had had one vice less, and if he had not been indolent, sleepy, ignorant, and slothful.

Fufius was therefore the sole resource of Clodius. But there was something so odious in this affair, that he dared not openly undertake the defense of the man he was willing to save. He would not oppose in form the law that had been proposed by the Consuls; he only disputed and shifted ground. Hortensius, who feared that he would at length strike in with the opposite party, thought of this expedient, which was that the Tribune himself should propose a law, different in one article only from that of the Consuls. By the law of the Consuls the Prætor who was appointed to preside in judgment, was to form his council himself and choose the judges, and by this of Fufius the judges were to be drawn by lot. Hortensius, who proposed this medium, knew very well that there was an important differ-

(a) Uno vitio minùs vitiosus, quòd iners, quòd somni plenus, quòd imperitus, quòd ἀπραγμάτευτος. Cic. ad Att. I. 14.

A. R. 637.
Ant. C. 61.

ence between these two laws : but he was persuaded that there could be no judge who would acquit Clodius ; and his expression was, *that a sword of lead was sufficient to cut his throat*. Thus altered, the law passed, and from that moment Cicero began to moderate his activity and his ardour, which he did not care to consume to no purpose.

Preparations for the process against him.

As soon as the Tribunal was formed, and the Judges began to take their seats, the good Citizens were entirely discouraged ; for there were hardly seen among them any but dissolute persons, without shame, without any sentiments of probity. Never did any common gaming house (a) afford a set of more despicable wretches : there were indeed some few honest men, but disconcerted and ashamed to see themselves so matched.

These Judges acted at first with great severity, without doubt to allure the public, or to sell themselves for the better price. They refused every thing to the accused ; and the accuser, who was one Lentulus, obtained more than he demanded : so that Hortensius much applauded himself, and boasted of the wisdom of his proposition.

It is true, that it could be hardly credible, that Judges could have impudence enough to acquit such a profligate villain. Besides the particular crime of which he was accused, there were witnesses the most respectable, who deposed several atrocious facts against him. Forging of wills, adulteries, and debaucheries of all kinds ; the sedition of Nisibis of which he was

(a) Non enim unquam turpior in ludo talario confessus fuit. *Cist. ad Att. I. 16.*

the author; cut-throats armed by him, and distributed in companies to exercise all manner of violences by his order. Lucullus, whose wife was one of his sisters, charged him with having abused her, and proved the accusation by the testimony of the women slaves of his family whom he produced against him. It was publicly reported, that Clodius carried on an incestuous commerce also with his other two sisters, one of whom was married to Q. Marcus Rex, and the other to Q. Metellus Celer.

A. R. 691.
Ant. C. 61.

For what related to the profanation of the mysteries of the good goddess, Aurelia, Cæsar's mother, and Julia his sister, deposed the facts as they had seen them. Cæsar was also cited as a witness: but, always politic, always attentive to manage those who he thought might be useful to him, and who were agreeable to the multitude, he said he knew nothing of the matter. And being asked for what reason then he had repudiated his wife, he made an answer worthy a man more virtuous than himself. *The wife of Cæsar, said he, ought not only to be free from guilt, but from the suspicion of it.*

Clodius's whole defence turned upon one point. He alledged an *Alibi*, and proved by false witnesses, that the very night wherein he was accused of having troubled the mysteries, he lay at Interamna, a town above sixty miles from Rome. Cicero destroyed this vain allegation, by deposing, that he had seen Clodius, and talked with him in Rome, but a few hours before the night in question.

Cicero de-
poses a-
gainst
Clodius.

He spoke the truth, but Plutarch affirms, that it was at the instigation of his wife, that he

A. R. 69. he appeared as an evidence against Clodius.
 Ant. C. 61.

The same historian adds some other circumstances, which at least seem to me suspicious, and which, for the most part, are only to be looked upon as reports spread by the enemies of Cicero. He said that Clodius had been his friend, and had given proofs of his zeal for him, and for the Commonwealth, in the affair of the conspiracy; that Clodia, the sister of Clodius, and the wife of Metellus Celer, had loved Cicero, and would have married him; which, as they were both married, must have occasioned a double divorce, and that it was the jealousy which Terentia had of this intrigue, that drove this imperious woman to engage her husband to depose against Clodius, and which of consequence embroiled him with Clodia. All the relation of Plutarch, so little to the honour of Cicero, may have nothing of truth in it, but the views and projects of Clodia, which cannot be denied. It would not be difficult to refute the rest, if this was the proper place. But not to engage myself in too long a discussion, I shall content myself with observing, that Cicero had no need of any foreign instigation to put him upon deposing a true fact against Clodius, who from that time had menaced him. He relates it himself, that when he presented himself as an evidence, all the Judges rising, and coming about him, shewed him their necks, and protested they were ready to sacrifice their own lives to save his from the rage of Clodius. He remarks, and sets a great value upon this honourable testimony which flattered his vanity. He nevertheless did not suffer himself to run into invectives against an enemy, so worthy both of his

his contempt and hatred, and satisfied himself with deposing all simply as it was. A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 65.

The applauses given to Cicero by the Judges, the luculent proofs they shewed of their great concern for his safety, finished the despair both of the accused and his defenders. They had reason for fresh alarms from another step taken by the Judges, who demanded a guard from the Senate, which was allowed them. Thus every thing seemed to promise an inevitable condemnation of Clodius.

In two days the affair changed its appearance, and by ways so detestable that I am in pain to speak of them. Crassus charged himself with this infamous negotiation. He sent for the Judges to his house, gave money to some, and promised it to others. There were even adulteries stipulated, and other abominations more contrary to nature. *The Judges suffer themselves to be corrupted.*

It was thus that Clodius got himself acquitted, by crimes greater than those for which he was brought to his trial. On the day that judgment (a) was to be given, the public Forum was filled with slaves, all good men were put to flight. Nevertheless there were five and twenty Judges found, whose rather, notwithstanding the extreme danger that threatened them, to expose themselves to it, than suffer the Commonwealth to be ruined and overthrown. One and thirty of them dreaded hunger more than the worst ill

(a) Summo discessu bonorum, pleno foro servorum, XXV. iudices ita fortes tamen fuerunt, ut summo proposito periculo, vel perire maluerint, quam perdere omnia, XXXI. fuerunt, quos

fames magis, quam fama commoverit. Quorum Catulus, quum vidisset quendam, Quid vos, inquit, praesidium a nobis petebatis? an, ne nummi vobis eriperentur, timebatis? Cic.

name.

A. R. 691.
Ant. C. 61.

name. These unworthy Judges who deserved the greatest punishment, were not without disgrace, and Catulus meeting one of them, asked him, *What they demanded a guard for? Whether it was for fear any body should take the money from them that they had received of the accused?*

Cicero re-animates the courage of good men, whom this judgment had dismayed.

This abominable judgment was attended with consequences very fatal to the Commonwealth. Vice victorious and triumphant began to insult probity and virtue. Having trodden under foot the laws of decency, the ties of conscience and the authority of the Senate, wicked men now thought to revenge themselves for the severity of Cicero's Consulship. The good, on the contrary, discouraged, dejected, thought themselves no longer in a condition to resist their enemies. Cicero here acted the part of a great Senator. He re-animated the hopes of good men, by his discourses, and by his exhortations. He inveighed with vehemence against the corruption of the Judges; and reduced to a silence of shame and confusion all those who had seemed to favour this unworthy victory. He procured, in particular, for the Consul Piso, the punishment of his criminal prevarication, by depriving him of the government of Syria, of which he thought himself secure. He afterwards fell upon Clodius himself with so much force, that all the assurance of that wretch could not bear him up, and he was absolutely disconcerted.

Cicero has inserted in the letter to Atticus, from whence I have chiefly taken all that I have just said, a part of a speech that he made in the Senate, on the 15th of May, Clodius being

being present. After (a) having exhorted the Senators, not to be dispirited for one wound given the Commonwealth, he added: *This wound is of such a nature, that we ought not to disguise nor fear it; least if we fear it, we should seem to want courage, and if we know not the importance and consequences of it, to want sense. Lentulus and Catiline have been twice acquitted. This is the third scourge that the corrupt Judges have prepared for the Commonwealth. Thou art in an error, Clodius, if thou thinkest thyself out of danger. The Judges have not insured thy habitation in the city; but they have reserved thee for a prison, and for punishment. They do not pretend to maintain thee in the rights of a citizen, but they have deprived thee of an exile, which would, at least, have put thy life in security. And you, Gentlemen, resume your courage, and continue to support a conduct full of dignity. The union of good men, which is the firmest prop of the Commonwealth, still subsists. What has happened is a subject of grief to them, but does not diminish their virtue. No new evil has befallen us, but the evil that was*

A. R. 691.
Ant. C. 61.

(a) Multa dixi de summa Republicâ, atque ille locus inductus à me est divinitus, ne unâ plagâ acceptâ patres conscripti conciderent: vulnus esse ejusmodi, quod mihi nec dissimulandum, nec pertimescendum videretur; ne aut metuendo ignavissimi, aut ignorando stultissimi judicemur: bis absolutum esse Lentulum, bis Catilinam, hunc tertium jam esse à iudicibus in Rempublicam immissum. Erras,

Clodi, non te iudices urbi, sed carceri reservarunt; neque te retinere in civitate, sed exilio privare voluerunt. Quamobrem, P. C. erigite animos retinete vestram dignitatem. Manet illa in Republicâ honorum consensus; dolor accessit bonis viris; virtus non est imminuta. Nihil est damni factum novi, sed quod erat, inventum est. In unius hominis perditum iudicio plures similes reperti sunt.

concealed

A. R. 693. *concealed is now discovered, the acquital of one*
 Ant. C. 61. *wretch has shewn us those who are like him.*

Cicero could not have done better. He flattered himself that he had established every thing; but the event will prove that he deceived himself. The wicked, animated by success, did not cease to make attacks both upon the Republic and Cicero, whose cause was that of the state: and at length Clodius finished his revenge upon both, by the banishment of him who had stifled the conspiracy of Catiline. Cicero knew that he was threatened, but did not believe that the danger was so great or so near. He confided in the affection that all honest men had for him, upon the honourable proofs of it that were shewn by the multitude, and especially upon his friendship with Pompey, on which he could not fully rely, but according to all appearance it was likely to be extremely useful to him. This reminds me to return to Pompey, who is going to enter upon a new course, very different from what he had taken before. He had shone in war, but did not come off with so much honour in his domestic and civil affairs.

It is true that at his return from Asia, he shewed at first an example of great moderation. The historians agree, that, with the army he brought back with him, he might have made himself master of Rome and the Commonwealth. All men saw him, and very much feared he would do what was so easy to him. Crassus went so far as to fly out of the city with his children, and carried with him as much of his treasure as he could. Nevertheless it was thought that this step which made so much noise had more of artifice than real fear

*Pompey, at
 his arrival
 in Italy,
 disbands
 his forces.*

fear in it: And that his design was to render Pompey odious.

A. R. 69.
Ant. C. 64.
Vell. 11.

This, who had never any design to seize on the sovereign authority by force, put a stop to all clamours and suspicions by disbanding his army as soon as he set foot in Italy. Arrived at Brundisium, he called his soldiers together, and after making a speech to them suitable to the occasion, he ordered them to separate, and each to retire to his own habitation; and yet he had a very specious pretence for keeping them together. It was a custom, founded both on reason and equity, that the army should triumph with their General. But he chose rather to deprive his triumph of so honourable an attendance, than give any uneasiness to the citizens.

40.
Plut.
Pomp.
Dio.

The zeal and administration of the People gave him an opportunity of repeating so fine an action: For when they saw him returned to Italy, after so many victories, as from a journey only made for his pleasure, without any other retinue but his particular friends, there gathered so great a concourse about him, and the multitude increased so on the road, that at his arrival at the gates of Rome, if he had had any ill designs against the public liberty, he would have had no need of any other army than that which had voluntarily formed itself to attend him. He took no advantage of it; but contented himself with the glorious reception he met with: all the city went out to pay their respects to him, the young people at a great distance, others farther or nearer according to their strength, and the Senate at the entrance of the walls.

He

A. R. 697.
A. U. C. 67.

Cicero endeavours to engage Pompey to explain himself favourably upon his Consulship. The equivocal conduct of Pompey.

He was obliged to wait some months at the gates of the city, till a convenient time for his triumph. But his authority had not the less influence in affairs, as I have already observed; and every one endeavoured to draw to his side so powerful a Citizen. Cicero on one hand, and his adversaries on the other, had already taken their time, whilst he was yet in Asia. Pompey, always dissembling, always artful, kept himself upon the reserve, and seemed willing to float between the two parties. Cicero in one of the letters we have of his, makes complaints to him, with that noble freedom, which is so becoming to great men. (a) *I have done*, says he to him, *those things which I thought you would have vouchsafed to have given me joy upon, both as a friend and as a citizen. I guess the reason of your silence; you are afraid there are some people would be offended at any praise you should give me. But know that what I have done for the good of my country, has met with the approbation of all the world. When you shall be here, you will acknowledge so much wisdom and greatness of soul, in my conduct, that you will not be ashamed, you who are without doubt greater than Scipio Africanus, to make an alliance, both in private society, and for the af-*

(a) Res eas gessi, quarum aliquam in tuis literis, & nostræ necessitudinis & Reipublicæ causâ, gratulationem expectavi: quem ego abs te prætermittam esse arbitror, quod verere ne cujus animum offenderes. Sed scito, ea quæ nos pro patriæ salute gessimus, orbis terræ iudicio ac testimonis comprobari.

Quæ, quum veneris, tanto consilio tantæque animi magnitudine à me gesta esse cognosces, ut tibi multò majori quàm Africanus fuit, me non multò minorem quàm Lælium, faciliè & in Republicâ, & in amicitia, junctum esse patiari. *Cic. ad Fam. V. 7.*

fairs

fairs of the public, with a man who yields but little to Lælius. A.R. 691.
Ant. C. 61.

The complaints of Cicero were to very little purpose, if they did not even do him an injury, as it has been said, and he but feebly denies. It is certain, that he had but little reason to be satisfied with Pompey at their first interview: notwithstanding, he received a very gracious compliment from him. The conqueror of the East said to Cicero, that he was obliged to him for seeing his country again, and that he should have come to little effect prepared for a third triumph, if he had not preserved the place where he was to triumph. These were only words, that were not capable of imposing upon a man so clear-sighted as him we are speaking of. Atticus, who had seen Pompey on the road, had already wrote to his friend, that this General praised his Consulship, since he durst no longer blame it. And we shall see here in what manner Cicero wrote in his turn to Atticus. *Pompey (a) esteems me very much as he would have it thought: he embraces, cherishes me; he praises me aloud; whilst at the bottom of his heart, and in a manner that may be seen through, he is jealous of my glory. I do not find in him any true sweetness, any frankness, any sincere and direct views to the affairs of the Commonwealth, nothing exalted, nothing generous or free.* This picture does not

Cic. pro
Planc.
n. 85.

Cic. Phil.
II. & de
Off. I. 78.

Cic ad
Att. I.
13, 14, 16.

(a) *Tousille amicus, (scin' quem dicam? de quo tu ad me scripsisti, postea quam non auderet reprehendere, laudare cepisse) nos, ut ostendit, admodum diligit, amplectitur, amat; apertè*

laudat; occultè, sed ita ut perspicuum sit, invidet. Nihil come, nihil simplex, nihil cū τοῖς πολιτικοῖς honestum, nihil illustre, nihil forte, nihil liberum. Cic. ad Att. I. 13.

A. R. 691.
Ant. C. 61.

flatter him ; and if it hardly resembles what Cicero has elsewhere said of Pompey, there is no doubt but more credit is to be given to a letter wrote from the abundance of the heart, than to harangues made to be delivered before numerous auditories. Besides, I do not think it difficult to reconcile these things : men are oftentimes different from themselves, as they shew themselves on the theatre of the world, and as they are seen in private ; therefore it is not to be wondered at, if the heroes of Cicero's orations, should have characters not much to be esteemed in his letters.

Pompey fully verified, by his conduct, the idea that Cicero had of him. When he harangued the People for the first time after his return, being willing to keep fair with every one, he spoke in such a manner, as to give satisfaction to nobody ; and his discourse was received with great indifference. The Consul Messalla having desired his opinion, in the Senate, on the affair of Clodius, which was still carrying on, Pompey thought he had done a great deal by praising, in general, the authority and decrees of the Assembly ; and in setting himself down by Cicero, he told him, he thought he had sufficiently explained himself on his Consulship. It is true, that Cicero having done nothing but with the advice of the Senate, his administration was included in the encomiums given by Pompey ; but it is true also, that these encomiums were very vague.

Crassus acted quite otherwise ; he, who might have complained that Cicero had not done him justice on many occasions, and had always endeavoured to extol Pompey to his prejudice.

prejudice. Having observed that the bare
suspicion of being willing to speak well of
Cicero's Consulship had done honour to Pom-
pey, he expatiated with Pompey on that sub-
ject. He said, " That (a) if he was a Citi-
zen and Senator, if he enjoyed his liberty
and his life, he was indebted to Cicero for
them; that as often as he saw his family,
his wife and his country, so often should he
call to mind the obligation he had to him,
who had preserved them to him."

This discourse awakened Pompey, being
piqued to find that Crassus had shewn him what
was his duty, and taken advantage of the oc-
casion which he had neglected to gain himself
applause; or else astonished to find, that the
services of Cicero were really so great, and
that the encomiums he had given him were so
well received by the Senate.

All the world knows, that the foible of
Cicero was the love of praise; therefore there
is no need to say how much he was pleased
with Crassus. Nevertheless he willingly re-
ceived the little that Pompey gave him in ob-
scure words and ambiguous expressions. But
when he was to speak himself, he displayed all
the sails of his eloquence to set himself out be-
fore a new auditor, such a one as Pompey. Fine
periods, happy turns, bold and noble figures,
flowed from his mouth. He boasted of the
wisdom and resolution of the Senate, the agree-
ment of the order of Knights with the first
body of the Republic, and of the union of all

(a) Se, quod esset Sena-
tor, quod civis, quod liber,
quod viveret, mihi accep-
tum referre; quoties conju-

gem, quoties domum, quo-
ties patriam videret, toties se
beneficium meum videre.

Cic. *add Att.* I. 14.

A. R. 691.
Ant. C. 61.

Italy for the common safety. He spoke of the remains of the conspiracy that were yet left, of the abundance of provisions, and of the tranquillity that the government enjoyed. *You (a) know, said he to Atticus, what noise, and what turmoil I make, when I treat of these things; and therefore I shall not enlarge upon it here, because I believe you may have heard of it in Greece where you are.*

To all the advances that Cicero made Pompey, he found no other return but the latter's acting a farce, of which the public was the dupe. The populace was persuaded that Pompey loved Cicero tenderly; and to express their intimacy that knot of young debauchees, who had been in a strict alliance with Catiline, called Pompey Cneus Cicero, giving him a name formed of his own Prenomen and the surname of him to whom they thought he was strictly united. In truth the behaviour of Pompey towards Cicero was at least equivocal till the time of his banishment.

*Pompey
buys the
Consulship
for Afranius.*

He did not follow the best principles in what related to the other affairs of the state. We have already seen that he presented the Commonwealth with a very bad Consul in the person of Pupius Piso. He did the same this year, and undertook, in spite of every body, to put another creature of his own in his place, whose principal merit was, that of being a good dancer. This was Afranius. To succeed in this, Pompey did not go about it in the ways of honour and reputation, nor employ that

(a) *Nosti jam in hac materia sonitus nostros: tanti fuerunt, ut ego eò brevior, sim, quòd eos usque istinc exauditos putem.*

credit

credit which was so much his due ; but that method, says Cicero (a) of which Philippus so well expressed the efficacy, when he said, there was no town impregnable when an ass loaded with gold could enter into it. Money was distributed with profusion, and it was reported, that the Consul Piso was the manager of this traffic between the two parties.

A. R. 691.
Ant. C. 61.

Cato now pleased himself to think he had refused the alliance of Pompey : For this, who had proved the steadiness of Cato when he had undertaken to manage Piso's election to the Consulship, not doubting but he should again find him thwarting his purposes on other occasions, was willing to gain him to his side, and therefore demanded his two nieces in marriage, the eldest for himself, and the youngest for his son. The wife and sister of Cato were charmed with so advantageous a proposition. But for himself, ever rigid, he answered Munatius, who was charged with the negotiation, in the following manner : *Tell Pompey, that Cato will not suffer himself to be taken by the women. I am obliged to him for his benevolence. As long as he shall form no designs but what are just and reasonable, he may depend on a friendship on my part more steady than any that can be produced by the nearest allies. But I shall give him no hostages that may be capable of tying up my hands when it is necessary to defend my country.*

An ineffectual attempt of Pompey to gain Cato.
Plut. Pomp. & Cat.

(a) Omnibus invitis tradit noster magnus auli filium : atque in eo neque auctoritate, neque gratia pugnat, sed quibus Philippus

omnia castella expugnari posse dicebat, in quæ modò assellus onustus auro posset ascendere. Cic. ad Att. I. 16.

A. R. 691:
Ant. C. 61.

Plutarch is of opinion that Cato carried his austerity too far in this instance; that if he had consented to the marriages proposed, he would have prevented the alliance between Pompey and Cæsar, which he thought might occasion the ruin of the Empire, and did occasion that of the Government: In short, that Cato by fearing to be drawn in to countenance the slighter faults of Pompey, had exposed him to become, as it happened in effect, the support and defender of greater and more pernicious acts of justice. I am afraid that this historian, in other matters so wise, has here judged by the event: For may it not be answered that Cæsar, if he had not become the father-in-law of Pompey, might have found in their common ambition, and in the superiority of his genius, wherewithal to have formed this union, so necessary to his views and so fatal to liberty. For my part, I cannot help admiring a virtue which is not to be dazzled by the blaze of fortune, and which in engagements, very innocent in themselves, can foresee, and dread the necessity of being obliged to concur in the abuse and violation of the laws.

Thus the persons themselves thought who were the most interested in the affair, and who had at first blamed Cato's inflexibility. His wife and sister, when they saw the tricks that were used to make Afranius Consul, and the corruption so publicly practised, that they went so far, according to Plutarch, as to receive the money in the gardens of Pompey, they very readily acquiesced in the reflection of Cato thereupon, who said to them, *You now behold*
the

the indignities in which we must have shared, had we accepted the alliance of Pompey. A. R. 691. Ant. C. 61.

Afranius was named Consul : And Pompey (a) who had looked upon the Consulship as the glorious prize of his exploits, and who had been raised to it by his merit, made no scruple to disparage it, by rendering it venal, and procuring it, by the strength of money, for such as never could have obtained it otherwise. This reflection which Plutarch made with regard to Pompey, Cicero had made before with regard to himself before the election of Afranius. (b) Behold, said he to Atticus, “ the Consulship, which Curio called an apotheosis, becoming, if such a man arrives at it, the royalty of the bean. It is much better to philosophize as you do, and regard all these Consulships as dirt.” The common language of all ambitious men, when things do not go according to their mind, but which oftentimes their actions give the lie to. Afranius had for his colleague Q. Metellus Celer, a man of a great name, and who maintained the nobleness of his birth by that of his sentiments.

Celer was just returned from Cisalpine Gaul, which he had governed after his Prætorship in quality of Proconsul. It was in the time of

(a) Ὡς τὸν Πομπήϊον ἀρχὴν χαχῆς, ὥς αὐτὸς ἀρχὴς ἐφ’ οἷς κατορθώσῃ ὡς μεγίστης ἱστῆς, ταῦτα αἰὶν ποιεῖν τοῖς δι’ αἰῶνις κληροδοταῖς διαμείναις. Plut. Pomp.

(b) Sed heus tu, videsne Consulatum illum nostrum,

quem Curio antea ἀποθῆωτιν vocabat, si hic factus erit fabam mimum futurum. Quare, ut opinor, φιλοσοφῆται, id quod tu facis, & istos Consulatus non flocci, iactas. Cic. ad Att. I. 16.

A. R. 691.
Ant. C. 61.

*Indians
drove by a
storm on
the coasts of
Germany.*

this administration that the fact happened, * which Pliny and Pomponius Mela relate after Cornelius Nepos. They say that the King of the Suevi † gave to Metellus Celer, Proconsul of Gaul, some Indians, who having embarked in their own country to go and trade with foreigners, had been so violently driven out of their way by a storm, that they were brought upon the coasts of Germany. Such an event was very useful to the antient geographers, who wanted a proof that our continent is quite environed by seas. For us, if this fact was true, it is only another instance added to those, by which it has been proved, that the Cape of Good Hope had been doubled many ages before the Portuguese made the discovery of it: But I cannot but suspect that these pretended Indians were inhabitants of the western coasts of Africa. This wandering then was not so very extraordinary, and the fact becomes a great deal more probable. Mr. Huet, in his history of trade, makes them come from a very different country, and thinks it highly probable that they were people of Lapland. In his work may be seen those reasons of conformity which inspired him with that thought.

*The third
triumph of
Pompey.
Plin xii.
26. and
xxxvii. 2.
Plut.
Pomp.
Appian.
Mithrid.*

The triumph of Pompey was deferred for some months, without doubt to have time to get together all the train that was to attend

* Pigbius and Freinshemius place this fact in the year that followed the Consulship of Metellus Celer, and which was that of his death. It is true that Transalpine Gaul had

fallen to his department, but it is very likely he never set foot in that Province, being prevented by his death.

† A People of Germany, who gave name to Swabia.

it :

it: at length it was celebrated on the 28th and 29th of September. The last of these was the birth-day of the triumpher. Two days were taken up in this pomp, on account of the immense number of the monuments of Pompey's glory, which were chiefly to adorn it: and even two days were not sufficient for it; but there remained wherewithal to have magnificently decorated another triumph, if there had been need of it.

An inscription was carried at the head, which signified, that POMPEY, AFTER HE HAD DELIVERED ALL THE MARITIME COASTS FROM PIRATES, AND GIVEN TO THE ROMAN PEOPLE THE EMPIRE OF THE SEA, TRIUMPHED OVER ASIA, PONTUS, ARMENIA, PAPHLAGONIA, CAPPADOCIA, SYRIA, THE SCYTHIANS, THE JEWS, THE ALBANIANS, IBERIA, THE ISLAND OF CRETE, THE BASTERNÆ, AND LASTLY OVER THE KINGS MITHRIDATES AND TIGRANES. He added himself, when after his triumph he harrangued the People, according to custom, to give an account of his exploits, "That he had fought with two and twenty Kings; and had so far extended the frontiers of the Empire, that Asia Minor, which before his conquests, was the last of the Provinces belonging to the Roman People, was now in the center of them." I shall join to this another inscription, which represents the victories of Pompey in a fresh light. It was placed by the Victor in the temple of Minerva, towards the building of which he had consecrated a part of the spoils. The following is as it is preserved by Pliny: CN. POMPEY THE GREAT, General

A. R. 691.
Ant. C. 62.

Orof. vi. 6.
Plin.

A. R. 691.
Ant. C. 61.

General * OF THE ROMAN ARMS, HAVING MADE AN END OF A THIRTY YEARS WAR, VANQUISHED, PUT TO FLIGHT, OR BROUGHT TO COMPOSITION, TWO MILLIONS ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY THREE THOUSAND MEN; HAVING SUNK, OR TAKEN EIGHT HUNDRED FORTY SIX VESSELS; HAVING SUBDUED ALL THE COUNTRIES BETWEEN THE PALUS MEOTIS AND THE RED SEA, HAS JUSTLY ACQUITTED HIMSELF OF THE VOW HE MADE TO MINERVA.

The riches displayed in this triumph were prodigious, and added a new degree of luxury and corruption to the Roman manners, particularly with respect to jewels, which till that time had been but little known in Rome. There were to be seen in it a pair of tables for play, made of two precious stones, four feet long and three feet wide. A moon of gold, weighing near forty-seven French marks †; three beds for the table, of gold also, one of which, as it was presented, belonged to Darius the son of Hystaspes; gold vessels, enriched with precious stones, enough to furnish nine buffets; three statues of gold, one of Minerva; one of Mars, and the other of Apollo; the golden vine of Aristobulus, which has been spoken of before; three and thirty crowns of pearl; a little chapel consecrated to the muses, all of pearl, with a sun-dial at top; lastly, the effigies of Pompey himself, made also of pearl. There was carried besides

* The word *Imperator*, as it is in the Latin, in this place is a title of honour, that the soldiers gave with acclamations to their General, after a great victory. There is no word in our language that answers to it.
† Of eight ounces each.

a chest filled with jewels and rings of great value, which had belonged to Mithridates, and which Pompey consecrated in the Capitol with the golden vine, and much other riches. Add the throne and sceptre of the same Mithridates, and a bust of that Prince in gold, of the height of eight cubits; a silver statue of Pharnaces, grandfather of Mithridates; chariots of gold and silver. Among the natural curiosities the ebony tree, which had never been seen at Rome, appeared there, for the first time, in this triumph. A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 67.
Plin. xii.4

The gratifications given by the triumpher to the officers and soldiers were also expressed in a picture, that passed along in the shew. It was therein shewn, that Pompey had given a thousand talents * to his Lieutenants and Quæstors, who had defended the coasts in the war with the Pirates, and that there was not any one of his soldiers who had not received six thousand sesterces †. Besides these sums, which were certainly the fruits of the war, and without which Pompey could not have been able to have done himself this honour, he brought into the public treasury in silver coined, or plate, twenty thousand talents, ‡ and an inscription declared, that he had almost tripled the revenue of the Commonwealth, which before him amounted to not above fifty millions of drachma's a year; and that it would receive, from the countries alone which he had conquered, eighty-five millions.

* About 150,000 pounds sterling.

† About 43 pound, sterling.

‡ About 3 millions sterling.

A. R. 691.
Ant. C. 61.

To all this shew of wealth, was joined a more military equipage: waggons filled with arms of all sorts, beaks of ships, a great multitude of prisoners of war, not loaded with chains, as had been the custom in former times, but every one at liberty, and dressed after the mode of their country. Immediately before the triumphal carr, marched the Kings, Princes and great Lords, who had been taken in arms, or delivered as hostages, to the number of three hundred and twenty-four; young Tigranes was particularly taken notice of, with his wife and daughter, and Queen Zozima the wife of old Tigranes: seven children of Mithridates, viz. five Princes, Artaphernes, Cyrus, Oxathres, Xerxes and Darius; and two Princesses, Orsabar and Eupatra: Olthaces who had reigned in Colchis: Aristobulus King of the Jews with his son Antigonus and two daughters. Tyrants and chiefs of the Cilician pirates: Princesses of Scythia: three Albanian Generals, two Iberian: The hostages of these People, and of the King of Comagena; and last of all Menander, Commander in chief of Mithridates's cavalry.

Several pictures followed, which represented the vanquished Kings, or the battles gained either by Pompey or his Lieutenants. Especially the adventures of Mithridates were painted in every circumstance; the nocturnal battle, wherein he was entirely defeated; his flight, the siege that he maintained in the Fort of * Panticapæum, his death; and that of his two daughters who chose to die with him. There were likewise seen the portraits of several other of his children, of both sexes, who died be-

fore him. The Gods of the Barbarians closed this long train of pictures, carried by the People who adored them, in triumph, who drew the attention of the spectators, by the singularity of their appearance and habits. Appian places here another inscription, which with the names of the conquered Kings bore those of thirty-nine towns founded by Pompey in different regions of the east.

Next Pompey appeared himself, in a carr shining with precious stones, cloathed in a military cassock, said to be that of Alexander, which Mithridates had found among the treasure brought into the island of Cos by Cleopatra Queen of Egypt, grand-mother of Ptolomy Alexander II. The carr of the triumpher was followed by the principal officers of his army, Lieutenant-Generals, Tribunes and others, some on foot and some on horseback. The army should have been there, as I have observed, entirely: But absent for reasons that had engaged Pompey to disband it, it did him more honour, than if it had marched in his train pouring forth their applauses.

The Roman ferocity was softened. The prisoners, who, in preceding triumphs, were either killed or kept in prisons, were now treated with more humanity. They were sent back to their own countries: only Aristobulus and Tigranes were detained, that Hyrcanus and old Tigranes might enjoy peace in their dominions.

This last triumph fully confirmed to Pompey the surname of the Great: all the People assembled gave it him with acclamations, and he was then in effect the greatest of the Romans. It was remarked, as a singular glory to him,

A. R. 691.
Ant. C. 61.

him, that in his three triumphs, he had successively presented to the view of the Romans the three parts of the known world. For Africa had supplied him with matter for his first triumph, Europe for his second, and Asia for his third; so that his conquests seemed to embrace the whole universe.

He had been compared in his youth to Alexander, and some writers to render the comparison more perfect, supposed that he was under thirty-four years of age when he triumphed over Mithridates. The truth is, that he was past his forty-fifth. "It were to be wished (a), says Plutarch, that he had resembled Alexander by dying before fortune abandoned him. The time that he lived after his third triumph brought him nothing but an odious posterity and disgraces without return. For employing unjustly in favour of others, that authority which he himself had acquired by legal means, as much as he increased their strength by so much he diminished his own glory, and at length ruined himself, without knowing how to prevent it by the greatness of his own power. The strong places, when the enemy had entered them, transferred their strength to the Victor, and help-

(a) Ὡς ὤνατο γ' ἂν ἐν ταῦτα τῇ βίᾳ παυσάμενος, ἄχρις οὗ τῇ Αλεξάνδρου τύχῃ ἴσχυιν, ὃ διέπικνω χρόνος αὐτῷ τὰς μὲν ἐντιχίας ἡνεγκεν ἐπιφθόνους ἀνηχέτους, καὶ τὰς δυστυχίας, ἢ γὰρ ἐκπροσηχέων αὐτὸς ἐχτήσατο δυνάμιν, ταύτην, χρώμενος ὑπὲρ ἄλλων ἢ δικαίως ἔσσι ἐχέουσιν ἰσχύος προστιθεῖν ὃ αὐτῷ δόξης ἀφαιρῶν,

ἔλαθε ῥάμην καὶ μεγαθυρίαν αὐτῷ δυνάμει καταλυθείς, καὶ χαράσας τὰ κατεργάτατα μέρη καὶ χωρία τῶν πόλεων, ὅταν διεκταί πολέμους, ἐχέουσιν προστιθεῖν τῇ αὐτῇ ἰσχύϊ, ὥστε διὰ τῇ Ρωμαίων δυνάμει Καῖσαρ ἐκατόμους ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει αὐτῇ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἰσχυρῶν τῶν ἀντιπρὸς καὶ κατεβαλῶν. Plut. Pomp.

“ ed themselves to put on their own fetters ; A. R. 691.
Ant. C. 61.
“ thus the power of Pompey, after having
“ been employed to raise Cæsar against the
“ Commonwealth, helped the same Cæsar to
“ destroy and overthrow him by whom he had
“ subdued all others.” The growth of Cæsar
and the ruin of Pompey are the principal ob-
jects to fix our attention for a series of several
years. But before we enter upon this, we have
some other facts of less importance to relate.

S E C T. II.

*The death of Catulus. Censors. Games. The
bears of Numidia. The beginning of the cus-
tom to interrupt the combats of the gladiators,
by going to dinner. Motions in Gaul. The
expedition of Scaurus against Aretas, King of
one part of Arabia. Q. Cicero governs Asia
for the space of three years. The Prætorship
of Octavius, father of Augustus. His conduct
in the government of Macedonia. His death.
The characters of the two Consuls. The au-
thority of the Senate was at that time weaken-
ed, and the order of Knights turned out of it.
Pompey demands the confirmation of his acts.
Lucullus opposes it in the Senate. A law pro-
posed by a Tribune of the People, to assign lands
to the soldiers of Pompey. The ambiguous con-
duct of Cicero throughout this whole affair.
The Consul Metellus opposes the law. Motions
of the Helvetii in Gaul. The Consul is
put into prison by the Tribune Flavius. The
constancy of the Consul. Pompey allies with
Clodius. Clodius attempts to make himself a
Plebeian, to get the office of Tribune. Cæsar,
at the expiration of his Prætorship, having the
province*

province of Ulterior Spain assigned to him, is stopped by his creditors, when he would have gone thither. Crassus delivers him from the most importunate. The saying of Cæsar concerning a pitiful little town in the Alps. He creates a war in Spain, and obtains several advantages from it. An admirable action of one of Cæsar's soldiers. Cæsar's administration beloved. He returns into Italy, and declines a triumph to gain the Consulship. He forms the triumvirate. Is named Consul with Bibulus. A law to abolish tolls and duties paid upon entering Rome or any parts of Italy. Combats of gladiators given by Faustus Sylla in honour of his father. The Apollinarian games given by Lentulus Spinther the Prætor. A piece of painting in fresco brought from Lacedæmonia to Rome.

A. R. 661.
Ant. C. 61.
Death of
Catulus.
Dio. l.
xxxvii.

THE Commonwealth lost, this year, one of its supports in the person of Catulus. Without greatly shining by superior talents, an uniform conduct, upright designs, always directed to the public good, a constant attachment to aristocratical maxims, and, in a word, all the qualities of an excellent Citizen and a wise Senator, had gained him great authority. Cicero, who praises him in several parts of his works, extols him particularly for his constancy, which (a) was proof against the most threatening storms, and not to be seduced by those honours, which were dispensed by popular favour, so that neither hope or fear could ever

(a) Quem (Catulum) neque periculi tempestas, neque honoris aura potuit unquam de suo cursu, aut spe, aut metu, demovere. *Pro Sex.* n. 101.

lead him out of those paths he had chalked out to himself. If Catulus had lived longer, it would have been a sensible affliction to him to have seen Cæsar, his declared enemy, taking such hasty strides, and openly preparing the way to oppress liberty.

A. R. 692.
Ant. C. 61.

This same year there were Censors, but their names continue unknown. We know, however, that they prepared the register of the Senate, which was more numerous than formerly, because they introduced into it all those who had possessed any post in the magistracy. Whereas till that time curule offices alone gave a right to those who had enjoyed them to be admitted into the Senate, and named as Senators in the first promotion. As to performing the lustre which put an end to all the operations of the Censorship, that ceremony was not used under the Censors I am speaking of, and continued to be interrupted for the space of one and forty years, from the time of the Censors Gellius and Lentulus, to that of the sixth Consulship of Augustus.

Lapis An-
cyr.

Domitius Ahenobarbus, curule ædile, on the 17th of September, gave games to the people, in which he caused a hundred bears of Numidia to fight with a hundred Ethiopian huntsmen. Pliny, who relates this fact, after the annals of the time, was puzzled to know what these bears of Numidia could be, because this animal, as he pretends, was unknown in Africa. Some learned men have asserted, that they were lions, which the Romans called thus through ignorance, as they called the first elephants which they saw in the war with Pyrrhus, by the name of Lucanian oxen. But we are not to judge of the times of which we are

Plin. viii.
36.

A. R. 661.
Ant. C. 61.

now giving the history, by the rudeness of the more remote ages; besides, the Romans had often times seen lions. Sylla particularly had caused a hundred to fight in the games which he gave during his Prætorship: Therefore I cannot easily persuade myself, that they could be so grossly mistaken, as to give the name of bears to lions. I leave this point to be discussed by those who are more learned than myself.

The beginning of the custom to interrupt the combats of the gladiators by going to dinner.

Dio has observed, that it was also in this year, that the people began to leave the combats of the gladiators to go to dinner, and returned afterwards to the spectacle, which was wont till that time to continue all day without interruption. The Roman manners in polishing, weakened them in every thing; and instead of that masculine vigour which formerly appeared in all their pleasures, it was observed, that they more and more considered their ease and convenience.

Movement in Gaul.

Affairs abroad afford us but little matter to treat of. In Gaul there was some movement, but of no great importance. I forbear to give an account of it till I come to speak of Cæsar's wars.

The expedition of Scaurus against Aretas King of one part of Arabia.

Scaurus, who had been left by Pompey in Syria, made an incursion into the territories of Arabia. As the country is bad and difficult, he would have found himself a good deal embarrassed, if Antipater, by the order of Hyrcanus, had not furnished him with those provisions that he wanted for his army. The same Antipater negotiated a treaty between Scaurus and Aretas, King of the Nabatean Arabians: And the Roman retired for a sum of

of money given by the Arabian. Peace was A. R. 691.
Ant. C. 61. equally necessary for them both.

Quintus Cicero, the brother of the orator, Q. Cicero having been Prætor the preceding year, when governs he went out of that office, had the province of Asia for the space of three Asia given to him, and continued there three years. So long an administration afforded no-thing memorable, but the finest monuments that remain of it are the letters written to him by his brother during that time; particularly the first, which is known to all the world, and contains the finest maxims, and most excellent advice to all those who fill high posts. Quintus was a man very different from his brother, impetuous, fantastical and easily provoked. It is true, he soon came to himself again, which is the sign of a good temper at bottom. But his passion was very troublesome to those who were to obey him; and his caprices and whims oftentimes exercised the patience of his brother and of Articus, whose sister he had married.

Cicero, more than once, proposed to him The Præ- the example of C. Octavius, the father of Au- torship of gustus, who was Prætor this year, and who had Octavius made himself much esteemed in that employ- the father ment. The family of Octavius had given of Augustus. many Consuls to Rome, but this Gentleman Suet. Aug. was of a branch which never had arrived at any 2, 3, 4. honours. His ancestors had been always con- Cic. ad Q. tented with the degree of Knighthood. C. Fr. I 1, 2. Octavius, who was the first that introduced into this branch the dignity of Senator and Curule employments, supported the splendor of his titles by his virtue. Cicero makes an encomium on the conduct he maintained in his Prætorship. He attributes to him all the qualities of a great Magistrate, affability, mildness ac-

A. R. 691.
Ant. C. 61.

“ accompanied with a just severity, and an exact
“ enquiry into affairs. “ All (a) accessions were
“ open to his tribunal, says Cicero, the Lic-
“ tor never drove any one from it ; the Cryer
“ never imposed silence : Every one spoke as
“ often and as long as he pleased. This in-
“ dulgence might perhaps have seemed too
“ great, if it had not served to make the seve-
“ rity he used in other cases the more approved
“ of. Cruel and covetous men, who had en-
“ riched themselves under Sylla, by Octavius
“ were obliged to refund, and to restore what
“ they had unjustly and forcibly taken away.
“ Those in the Magistracy who had made any
“ unjust decrees, were judged by the same
“ law. This severity might perhaps have
“ seemed too rigorous, if it had not been
“ tempered by many acts of humanity and in-
“ dulgence.”

*His con-
duct in the
Govern-
ment of
Macedo-
nia.*

To make an end of all that relates to Octa-
vius, I shall add, by anticipation, that after the
year of his Prætorship was expired, he was
sent to govern Macedonia, where C. Antonius,
the colleague of Cicero in his Consulship, had
gained a very bad character. Octavius, at his
departure, had it in charge to destroy some re-
mains of the troops of Sparticus, and of the
conspiracy of Catiline, which uniting together,

(a) His rebus nuper C.
Octavius jucundissimus fuit :
apud quem primus Lic-
tor quievit, tacuit accensus : quo-
ties quisque voluit dixit, &
quâ voluit diu. Quibus ille
rebus fortasse nimis lenis vi-
deretur, nisi hæc lenitas illam
severitatem tueretur. Cogebantur sullani homines quæ

per vim & metum abstule-
rant, reddere. Qui in Magi-
stratibus injuriosè decreve-
rant, eodem ipsis privatis erat
jure parendum. Hæc illius
severitas acerbâ videretur, nisi
multis condimentis humani-
tatis mitigaretur. *Cic. ad Q.
Fr. I. 17.*

had

had seized on the territories of Thurium: and he acquitted himself of this commission with success.

A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 67.

Being arrived in Macedonia, he gave equal proofs of his courage and his justice. He overcame, in a great battle, the Bessi and the Thracians, and received from his soldiers the title of Imperator. The subjects of the Empire praised him very much for his administration, and he was extremely well beloved by them. Of this we have Cicero still for a voucher. He represents to his brother, who was then in the third year of his government of Asia, "that his neighbour Octavius made himself adored by the People. And yet, adds (a) he with grief, he had never read the Cyropedia or the Eulogium of Agesilaus by Xenophon. He was unacquainted with the examples of the great Kings, from whom, in their sovereign power, there never escaped a word or a disobliging saying." Cicero was in the right to shame his brother, who had not profited by the great knowledge he had acquired. For what purpose do study and letters serve, if they do not render us beneficent and humane?

Octavius, after having spent two years in Macedonia, returned to Rome with hopes of the Consulship, but was prevented of it by death. He had married, for his second wife,

His death.

(a) *Atque is dolor est, quod quum ū quos nominavi, (Cicero had quoted two Prætors, of whom Octavius was one) te innocentia non vincant, vincunt tamen artificio benevolentia colligendæ, qui*

neque Cyrum Xenophontis, neque Agesilaum noverint: quorum regum summo in imperio nemo unquam verbum ullum asperius, audivit. Cic. ad 2. Tr. I. 2. 2.

A. R. 692.
Ant. C. 61.

Atia the daughter of Julia, Cæsar's sister. It was by this marriage he had Augustus, who was but four years old when his father died. I shall now resume the thread of the history.

A. R. 692.
Ant. C. 60.

L. AFRANIUS.

Q. METELLUS CELER.

*Character
of the two
Consuls.*

Dio L.
xxxvii.

The Consulship of Afranius and Metellus Celer is the famous Epoch of the triumvirate, taken notice of by Horace (a). I have already given the characters of these two Consuls. Afranius, a man without talents, without merit, rendered, in this great office, no other service to Pompey, who had placed him in it, than to cover him with shame, by his uselessness and his meanness of spirit (b). Metellus, on the contrary shewed a great deal of courage and magnanimity, and defended the public liberty with zeal. It is true Dio pretends, that this zeal was stirred up and heightened in him by the resentment he conceived against Pompey for divorcing his sister Mucia. Cicero, who often speaks of Metellus in his letters to Atticus, says nothing like this: And the authority of Dio, in my opinion, is not sufficient to degrade a conduct, and actions laudable in themselves, by ascribing them to bad motives.

The authority of the Senate at that time weakened, and the order of Knights withdrawn from it.

Cic. ad
Att. I. 17,
18. &
II. 1.

When Metellus came to govern the Commonwealth, he found it in a situation very different from that in which Cicero had established it: The authority of the Senate was considerably shaken by the absolution of Clodius, and by the election of Afranius, on account of

(a) Motum ex Metello consule civicum. Hor. Od. II. 1.
(b) Magni nostri erroris. Cic. ad Att. I. 20.

which

which that assembly was desirous to struggle by its decrees against canvassing, but failed in its design. Moreover the order of Knights withdrew themselves from the Senate, wrongfully no doubt, but the damage that the republic suffered by it was no less real. The severity of Cato had given occasion for this disunion of the two orders. I do not however pretend to blame his conduct whose principle was an ardent and courageous zeal for justice.

Indeed nothing was more unjust than the pretensions of the Knights. I have already observed in another place *, that though they sat in judgment with the Senators they were nevertheless not subject to the penalty of the laws made against those Judges who suffered themselves to be corrupted. It is very likely the scandalous judgment in the case of Clodius opened mens eyes to the glaring iniquity of such an example. Cato spoke strongly upon it in the Senate, and procured a *Senatusconsultum* and a law, which declared the penalties general against all those who being judges should receive money of the parties. The Knights dared not complain of so equitable a law, but were much mortified by it.

About the same time, that is to say, towards the end of the preceding year, a company of Roman Knights, who had signed a lease with the censors for the revenues of the Commonwealth in Asia, desired of the Senate to be released from their bargain, pretending that they were hurt by it, and making no scruple to own, that the desire of gain had prompted them to make offers, and accept of conditions very burthensom to them. Cato, ever rigid against the farmers of the revenues, op-

A. R. 692.
Ant. C. 60.

posed their request; the affair was spun out for three months, and at length he carried it against them, and caused the demand of those who were interested in it to be thrown by, although supported by the solicitations of the whole order. This last stroke completed the resentment of the Knights, and absolutely detached them from the Senate.

This was no fault of Cicero's. The union of the two orders concerned him personally, as it had been his work; and, on the other hand, he did not follow principles so severe as Cato. He even thought, that this Hero, for so he called him, was not acquainted with men or times, and reproached (a) him for arguing in the same manner in a company of the vicious sons of Romulus, as he would have done among the wise men of Plato's republic. For himself, although he was sensible of all the indecorum of the Knights pretensions, he assisted them, and spoke strongly in their favour; and not being able to succeed, was much grieved, not precisely for his own interest, since the Knights always continued attached to him; but because he foresaw that the Commonwealth and the Senate would lose a support that was necessary to them.

Pompey demands the confirmation of his acts.
Plut.
Pomp. & Luc.

The great object of the defenders of liberty was to bridle the power of Pompey, which was visibly predominating. He pushed on at that time two important affairs. One was the confirmation of all that he had done, regulated, or ordered in the provinces of which he had

(a) Dicit enim, tanquam sententiam. *Cic. ad Att.*
in Platonis *republica*, nos II. 1.
tanquam in Romuli *sece*,

had the command, in short of all the acts of his Generalship. The other, which he had not less at heart, was a distribution of lands among the soldiers, who had served under his command, and who before their establishment were as much his creatures as ever, and the supports of his power. He demanded himself the confirmation of his acts: and Flavius a Tribune of the People, in conjunction with him, proposed the Agrarian law.

In the first article Lucullus was personally interested, all whose orders in Asia Pompey had taken a delight to change and turn upside down. This interest, assisted by the exhortations of Cato, drew Lucullus out of that supine and soft way of living to which he had given himself up. Metellus Creticus, so violently and so unworthily offended by Pompey; and Crassus, always jealous of his greatness, joined themselves to Lucullus and Cato; and Metellus Celer supported them with all the authority of the Consulate. Thus when they were about to debate in Senate on the confirmation of Pompey's acts, Lucullus represented to them, "that Pompey ought to render an account article by article, and demand the approbation of every one separately. That for him to expect to have all that he had done and regulated approved in the gross, without making known the particular nature of each affair, was to act like a master, and not as a citizen. That Pompey having made great alterations in what he [Lucullus] had ordained, it was but just that the Senate should judge between them, and decide whose regulations should be executed." This discourse, so equitable, was applauded; and Pompey

A. R. 692.
Ant. C. 60.

Pompey seeing that he had nothing to hope from the Senate, employed himself solely to get the law of Flavius to pass, thereby to gain the People, and then thought he might afterwards obtain the confirmation of his acts, which the Senate refused him.

The law proposed by a Tribune of the People to assign lands to the soldiers of Pompey. The ambiguous conduct of Cicero throughout this whole affair.

This law was artfully enough prepared. Altho' those whose work it was, made the establishment of Pompey's soldiers the principal end of it; yet, that the People might interest themselves in it, they associated other citizens in the division of lands. But the Consul Metellus, and all those who, with him, had broke Pompey's measures in the Senate, did not with less might oppose this law.

With respect to Cicero, his conduct was without vigour, and equivocal enough throughout this whole affair. There is no mention made of him in history on the subject of the confirmation of Pompey's acts, and he says not one word of it himself in his letters to Atticus. With regard to the law, he sought a medium, by which he imagined he should satisfy every body; but it is very likely he deceived himself.

He gives an account to Atticus of the principles upon which he governed himself at that time. "In going out of my Consulship, says Cic. ad Att. I. 19. "he, I maintained at first, with dignity and nobleness, the glory I had acquired in it. "But when I saw the authority of good men "weakened, and the Knights detached from "the Senate, perceiving moreover how warm "the jealousy of these voluptuaries your "friends (a) (he means Hortensius, Lucul-

(a) *Non piscinarios dico, amicos tuos*

"lus

"lus and some others) was against me; I A. R. 692.
 "thought I ought to procure to myself some Ant. C. 69.
 "more solid support. I am therefore closely
 "united with Pompey: I have done so well,
 "that I have engaged him at length to break
 "that silence which he has so long kept on the
 "business of my Consulship, and to declare
 "his approbation often and openly of all that
 "I have done for the welfare of my country.
 "We mutually support each other, and are
 "both the stronger for our union. I have
 "even regained the debauched youth who had
 "me for an object of hatred. In a word, I
 "avoid giving offence to any one; (a) my
 "conduct nevertheless has nothing weak in it,
 "nothing popular. I keep a medium, ac-
 "quitting myself of what I owe to the Com-
 "monwealth, by my fidelity in never depart-
 "ing from the principles of a good citizen,
 "and nevertheless making use of some precau-
 "tion for my own safety, on account of the
 "weakness of good men, the hatred of the
 "bad, and the malice of the envious. Not-
 "withstanding I do not give myself up to new
 "friendships; and I frequently repeat to my-
 "self the saying of Epicharmus: *Watch, and*
 "*remember yourself to mistrust men: It is the*
 "*nerve of prudence.*

(a) Nihil jam denique à
 me asperum in quemquam
 fit, nec tamen quidquam po-
 pulare ac dissolutum: Sed ita
 temperata tota ratio est, ut
 Reipublicæ constantiam præ-
 sentem; privatis rebus meis,
 propter infirmitatem bono-
 rum, iniquitatem malivolo-
 rum, odium in me impro-

borum, adhibeam quamdam
 cautionem & diligentiam;
 atque ita amem, si ūs novis
 amicitis implicati sumus, ut
 crebro mihi vaser ille sculus
 insusurret Epicharmus can-
 tilenam illam suam. Nūq̃,
 q̃ p̃cipue dicitur q̃d p̃m rō-
 re rō p̃p̃m. Cic. ad Att.
 I. 19.

Atticus

A. R. 692.
Ant. C. 66.

Atticus oftentimes cautioned him to take care that his friendship for Pompey did not carry him too far, and engage him in some delicate affair, from which he might not be able to extricate himself with honour. Cicero protests to him, in more places than one, that he would carefully ward against such danger, and even flattered himself that he should make Pompey better, by detaching him from the People, and inspiring him with more Aristocratical sentiments. He carried the delusion yet farther, and when Cæsar returned from Spain, where he was at that time, as we shall soon mention, Cicero ventured to promise himself, that he should bring him back again, at least in part, to the system of the public good: But he was in a great error. Cæsar, and even Pompey knew better than he how to dissemble in the management of affairs. All this refined policy did but hurt his reputation, without saving him. He found that men such as Pompey were not to be satisfied with having friends by halves, indeed they want not friends but slaves: and sacrifice without pain or scruple those whom they do not find entirely devoted to their wills.

*The Consul
Metellus
resists the
law. A
movement
of the Hel-
vetii in
Gaul.
Dio. Cie.
ad Att. I.
19, 20.
& II. 1.*

Metellus Celer observed a conduct much clearer and more generous; and his constancy resisted not only fear, which has the least power over great souls, but even a hope that might flatter his ambition. For while the contest was warmest on the subject of Flavius's law, news was brought to Rome, that affairs were in disorder in Gaul, and that the Helvetii were in arms. The Senate to prevent the other people in Gaul from joining with them, immediately ordered an embassy the chief of which should

should be a person of Consular dignity: This, as we may say *en passant*, gave room for a fresh evidence of the singular esteem of this illustrious assembly for Cicero. For the names of the Consulars being put into an urn, and his coming out first, all the Senate cried out, that he must be kept in Rome; the same was done by Pompey whose name came out the second. So that it appeared, that they looked on these two as the pledges, and supports of the safety of the State (a). Metellus Creticus was destined the chief of the embassy. The same Senatus consultum ordered that the Consuls should have the two Gauls, Gallia Cisalpina and Gallia Transalpina for their Provinces. Metellus Celer would have been charmed to have a Province, from whence he might hope for a triumph. Flavius therefore thought he had discovered his foible, and threatened to oppose his going out of Rome, and by that means deprive him of a command that was the object of his wishes, if he continued to resist the law. But this menace had no effect, and Metellus still acted with no less spirit and constancy.

Things were carried so far, and the Tribune *The Consul* was so much enraged, that he had the hardiness *is put into* to put the Consul in prison. The Knights, dis- *prison by* contented with the Senate, were unmoved; *Flavius* but the Senators performed their duty to the ut- *the Tri-* most, and would assemble, even in the prison, *buna* about the Consul. It was thus, says M. Crevier, that our ancestors saw the first court of justice in the kingdom follow their chief to the bastille, whom a company of factious men had

(a) Ut nos duo quasi pignora Reipublicæ retineri videmur. *Cic. ad Att. l. 19.*

A. R. 692.
Ant. C. 60.

sent thither. Flavius would not suffer the Senate to enter the prison, and to prevent them placed his seat before the door of it.

The constancy of the Consul.

Metellus supported this indignity with a marvellous constancy. The other Tribunes would have taken him out of prison, but he refused to come out till Flavius himself desisted: The latter did not seem at all disposed to it, and prepared to pass the night upon the spot. But Pompey was at length ashamed of such an access, of which in reality he had been the author; he even feared a rising of the People: So that he ordered Flavius to retire, saying that Metellus had asked this favour of him. No body believed him, and he only added the stain of dissimulation and falsehood to the just reproaches he had already deserved, for trampling upon the first dignity of the Commonwealth,

Pompey allies with Clodius. Plut. Pomp.

Pompey, seeing all his efforts were ineffectual, then repented that he had disbanded his army. But resolving to carry his point at any rate, as all the Aristocratical party was against him, he gave himself up more entirely than ever to the popular faction: and forgot himself so far as to ally even with Clodius, who thought in time to obtain the Tribuneship, and by the power of that to revenge himself on his enemies, especially on Cicero.

Clodius attempts to make himself a Plebeian to get the office of a Tribune. Dio Cic. ad Att. I. 18, 19.

The birth of Clodius was almost an invincible obstacle to his designs. He was of Patrician race, and those of the Plebeian only could be chose Tribunes of the People. He undertook to make himself a Plebeian. To this end, he gained a Tribune, named Herennius, a man of low degree, bad principles, without fortune and without merit, who proposed to the People

ple that Clodius should be acknowledged a Plebeian, and accounted so in the Commonwealth, as much as one who was so by birth. The Consul Metellus at first gave into this project, perhaps by surprize. But he soon returned to himself, and justly irritated against Clodius, threatened him in full Senate, although he was his cousin german and brother-in-law, to kill him with his own hand. The colleagues of Herennius also opposed his proposition. Nevertheless Clodius carried himself as a Plebeian, and aspired to the Tribunate, but he missed of his aim for this year.

In these turbulent contests passed the Consulship of Metellus, who, at least, stopped the evil, and kept all things in suspense, till the time that Cæsar, arriving from Spain, put the last hand to what the most stirring ambition, and the strongest cabal had never been able to finish without him.

Cæsar had been Prætor two years before, as we have already mentioned, under the Consuls Silanus and Murena. After his Prætorship he had the province of Ulterior Spain; but when he was going thither, he found himself very much embarrassed, because his creditors were preparing to stop his equipage. His luxury, his prodigalities, his ambitious largesses, had reduced him to a condition of owing more than he was worth: and he had been heard to say, that he wanted a hundred millions of sesterces (near eight hundred thousand pounds sterling) to be better than nothing. Crassus was his last resource. They had been formerly enemies; and Plutarch relates, that when Cæsar in his youth was taken by pirates, he cried out, *What joy will it be to Crassus, when he shall bear*

A. R. 692.
Ant. C. 69.

Cic. pro
Cæ. n 60.

Cæsar at
the expira-
tion of his
Prætor-

ship, hav-

ing the
province of
Ulterior,

Spain af-

terwards to
him, is stop-

ped by his credi-

tors, when
he would

have gone
thither:

Crassus
delivers

him from
the most

importu-
nate.

Plut. Cæ.
& Crass.
Appian.
Civil.
L. II.

A. R. 692.
Ant. C. 60.

bear of my captivity! Interest, at last, brought them together again; and the same motive fastened the bands of their friendship more strictly than ever, on the occasion I am speaking of. Cæsar wanted money. Crassus, who always dreaded Pompey, stood in need of the credit and activity of Cæsar to support him against a power, by which he feared to be crushed. On the other hand, he never loved or hated anybody, but, according as the necessity of his affairs required, he would quarrel or be reconciled with extreme facility. He therefore appeased the most importunate of Cæsar's creditors, by passing his word for him for the sum of twenty millions of sesterces (one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling) and thus gave him liberty to depart. As soon as Cæsar found he was no longer detained, he immediately took flight, even without waiting till the Senate had entirely settled what regarded the provinces.

*The saying
of Cæsar
concerning
a pitiful
little town
in the Alps.
Plut. Cæsar.*

In his journey Plutarch relates this remarkable saying of his, which plainly shews the furious ambition that possessed him. In passing the Alps, his friends taking notice of a little pitiful town, the inhabitants of which were in a poor and miserable condition, they asked one another in the way of pleasantry, if in that place there were any disputes about the employments, quarrels for the first rank, or jealousies among their great men. Cæsar, who heard them, said with a serious tone, *That he would rather be the first man there, than the second in Rome.* The Historians report several dreams or presages, that nourished his hopes and desires. But the saying alone that I have just cited, makes it plainly appear, that he wanted

wanted no incentives but those of his own mind, to make him undertake, or dare to do any thing.

Spain, at the time that he arrived there, was more peaceable than he could have desired. He sought an occasion to create a war, and found it. He gave some battles; he took several places in Lusitania and in Galicia; he made a great booty, with which he enriched himself, and largely recompensed his soldiers; from whom he received the title of Imperator, and seemed to deserve a triumph. But all these expeditions, which would perhaps have been considerable in another, were so little for Cæsar, that I shall not think it worth while to relate the slender detail which Dio has preserved of them. What I find the most worthy to be recorded, is an admirable (a) action of a soldier.

The Spaniards, vanquished by Cæsar, having retired to an island, at a little distance from the *terra firma*; Cæsar, who had no ships, could not pursue them. Nevertheless, he ordered some light boats to be built, to send a small body of troops over into the island. Some of his soldiers were disembarked on a rock, from whence they might go to the enemy; and the commander of the detachment was to support them, or take them on board again, as there should be occasion. But having been carried from them by the reflux of the tide, he left his

(a) Plutarch, and Valerius Maximus (III. 2. 23.) report this fact in Cæsar's war against the people of Great Britain. What determines me, with Freinshemius, to fol-

low Dio in this place, is that Cæsar has not spoke of this fact; and it is not likely, that he would have omitted it in the account he gives of that war.

*A. R. 692.
Ant. C. 60.* soldiers, who were but a small number, to the mercy of the Barbarians. All were killed, except one man, whom Dio calls P. Scevius, or Scæva, and who, after having fought valiantly, all covered with wounds, threw himself into the sea, and crossed it by swimming. Cæsar, who had been a witness and spectator of the whole action, thought the soldier came to demand some recompence; but was astonished when he saw him throw himself on his Knees, and, on the contrary, only begged pardon of him for returning without his arms, and particularly without his buckler. Cæsar could not but admire a soldier, who shewed so much regard to military discipline, joined to much bravery, and raised him to the rank of a Centurion.

An admirable action of one of Cæsar's soldiers. Cæsar, victor in the war, succeeded no less in the civil government. He established good order and tranquillity among the people subjected to his authority. He remedied especially the dissensions and troubles caused by debts, by ordering that two thirds of the debtor's income should be delivered up to his creditors, till full satisfaction was made.

Cæsar makes his administration beloved. These different operations did not employ Cæsar quite a year. Proposing to himself all the time to obtain a triumph, and to demand the Consulship, he hastened to return, even before one was sent to succeed him.

He returns to Italy, and renounces a triumph to obtain the Consulship. But as the time of the elections was near, there was an incompatibility between the two objects of his ambition. To demand a triumph he must have been obliged to have continued out of Rome; and to demand the Consulship he was obliged to come into it. He endeavoured to remove this obstacle, by having

*Suet. Plut.
Cæf. &
Cat.*

AFRANIUS, METELLUS, Consuls.

87

it proposed to the Senate, that they would allow of his demanding the Consulship by the ministry of his friends, without obliging him to sollicite it in person. This was contrary to the established custom. However his credit inclined several of the Senators to favour him. Cato resisted with his ordinary resolution; and fearing that his reasons might not have their desired effect, he made use of a stratagem. When he had begun to speak in the Senate he continued talking till night; for it was not permitted to interrupt a Senator who spoke in his place, and he had the liberty to expatiate as much as he thought proper. By this artifice he disconcerted Cæsar's intrigue, who did not continue a moment in suspense; but considering the triumph as a temporary honour which might return another time, whereas the Consulship was the door that opened his way to the highest fortune, he renounced the triumph, entered into the city, and put himself among the candidates.

A. R. 693.
Ant. C. 60.

It was at this time, that he formed that league, so well known under the name of the Triumvirate, fatal to liberty, fatal to Pompey, and of which Cæsar alone gathered all the fruit. And what is very remarkable is, that while he was building up his own grandeur, and overturning the Commonwealth, he still drew applause upon himself. Pompey and Crassus, the two most powerful citizens of Rome, were perpetually at variance, and their discord troubled the whole Commonwealth. Therefore to reconcile them was an action which was very specious to outward appearance. Cicero and Cato were not mistaken in it. They conceived perfectly well, that these two powers,

*He forms
the Trium-
virate.*

Dio. Ap-
pian. Plut.
Cæsar. &
Pomp
& Crass.
Sueton.
Vell. II.

44.

A. R. 692. which, in counterbalancing one another agitated the vessel, hindered it from oversetting by their mutual resistance, but that if ever they should be united, and both go over to one side, they could not fail of sinking it. Cicero, who had great alliances with Pompey, used all his endeavours to dissuade him from giving himself up to Cæsar. He succeeded very ill. He did not only prevent their union, but lost himself the friendship of Pompey.

Ant. C. 60.
Cic. Phil.
II. n. 23.

Cæsar effectually attacked Pompey and Crassus, by motives that have the most power over ambitious men. *What do we do, said he to them, by our eternal dissensions, but augment the power of the Cicero's, the Cato's, and Hortensius's? Whereas by leaguings together we may subdue them all, display our whole authority, and be alone masters of the Commonwealth.*

Besides this common interest, each of the Triumvirs had his own particular object in view. Pompey would obtain the confirmation of the acts of his Consulship. Crassus, covetous to the last degree, and desirous of the first rank, but incapable of arriving at it by himself, would be raised to it by the help of his associates. Cæsar the cunningest, as well as the most ambitious of them all, who could not get the better of them both, nor maintain a friendship with one without making the other his enemy, by re-uniting them to one another, and with himself, removed all obstacles to his designs, and opened the way to his becoming all-powerful.

They made a treaty therefore, by which they promised to support one another reciprocally, and not to suffer any deliberations in the public affairs, that should be displeasing to any one

one of the three. They kept this treaty a secret, and concealed their good understanding as long as it was possible, even feigning on occasions that presented themselves to be of different opinions, that their conspiracy might gather strength, while there was no suspicion of it, and not break out till it was well established, and perfectly in a condition to give laws to others.

A. R. 692.
Ant. C. 60.

While this negotiation was carrying on, Cæsar demanded the Consulship. He had no uneasiness as to what regarded him personally, and was well assured of his own nomination, His chief aim was to get a Colleague to his mind.

He is named Consul with Bibulus.
Suet.

There were two competitors, Lucceius and Bibulus, concerning Lucceius we scarce know any thing but what we learn from the letters of Cicero. He was a man who had the talent of writing, and succeeded so well in history, that Cicero desired to have him for the historian of his Consulship, and of the events that followed till his return from exile. All the world knows the letter which our orator wrote to him on this subject, a famous monument, as M. Rollin calls it, of the eloquence, and, at the same time, of the vanity of its author. As to the character of Lucceius, if we may judge by the conduct we shall see he maintained, he seemed to have no views that were direct, nor any great superiority of genius in affairs. Bibulus had been at variance with Cæsar, from the time that they had been Ædiles together, and moreover was a rigid defender of liberty and laws; strictly united with Cato, and governed himself by the same principles, although with less extent and elevation of spirit. Such a companion could not be agreeable to Cæsar:

Traité des Etudes.
T. II. c. 3.
art. 4.

A. R. 692.
Ant. C. 69.

He therefore united himself to Lucceius, and as he had more credit but less money, it was agreed between them, that Cæsar should lend Lucceius the assistance of his friends, and that Lucceius should distribute considerable sums among the Tribes in the name of them both.

The principal persons in the Senate dreaded the Consulship of Cæsar. The manner in which he behaved during his Ædile and Prætorships, made them apprehensive of what they might feel from him when he should be Consul. However not being able to put him by, all their resource was to raise him up an adversary in the person of his Collegue. They all united therefore in favour of Bibulus, even engaging to make Largeesses equal to those of Lucceius, and to assess themselves to defray the expence. In this they had the approbation of Cato, who was not displeased at these Largeesses, so contrary to the laws and to good manners, which seemed at this time so useful to the Commonwealth. What times were these, when such men thought they could not save the State but by violating the most salutary laws! This policy succeeded. Lucceius lost his money, and Bibulus was chose Consul with Cæsar. But Cæsar, whom nothing could embarras, not being able to avoid having Bibulus for a Collegue, found means to get the better of him, or rather to crush him, and make him nothing, which I shall relate after I have given an account of some other events of this year, which I have been obliged to postpone.

*A law to
abolish
tolls and
duties to
be paid up-
on entering
Rome and
all the
other parts
of Italy.
Dio.*

Metellus Nepos, who was Prætor, proposed, and got a law passed, to abolish tolls and duties to be paid upon entering Rome and the other parts of Italy. These taxes were not very

very burthensome in themselves, but the vexations of those who were charged with collecting them excited great complaints. Dio assures us, that the proposition for abolishing them was universally applauded, and that nothing was displeasing therein but the person of the Legislator, who was a factious Citizen, as we have seen, and the author of seditions. He adds, that in consequence of this, the Senate would have struck his name out of the law, and have had it proposed by another, and in case the thing could not have been done thus, at least it plainly shews us, that even services and good actions cease to be agreeable when they come from bad men. For my own part, I can easily conceive, that the multitude must be charmed with this abolition of taxes, but I cannot so easily persuade myself that the Senate would approve of such a diminution of the public revenue; and I see that Cicero complains of it in a letter to Atticus.

A. R. 698.
Ant. C. 664.

Cic. ad
Att. II. 16.

Faustus Sylla, who could not then be above twenty years of age, to do honour to the memory of the Dictator his father, gave combats of the gladiators to the people; to which he joined a magnificent banquet for all the multitude, with Baths, and a distribution of oil.

Combats
of the g'a-
diators
given by
Faustus
Sylla in
honour of
his father.
Dio.

Lentulus Spinther, who had been at an extraordinary expence in the games of his Ædileship, took an opportunity this year to distinguish himself by the same taste in the Apollinarian games, of which he had the care: This proves that he was Prætor of the City. It is remarked, that he covered the upper part of the theatre with curtains of fine lawn, which the Latins called *Carbasus*, and these were im-

The Apol-
linarian
games
given by
Lentulus
Spinther
the Præ-
tor.
Plin. xix.
1.

A. R. 692.
Ant. C. 60.

proved by the richness and splendor of the front curtain, after the magnificent example that Catulus had first given in dedicating the Capitol. The poet Lucretius describes very agreeably the effect produced by these curtains, which were of divers colours: "when our theatres (a), says he, are covered with curtains, some of aurora colour, others red, others darker, all shaking upon the long rods that support them, then the pit, the stage, men, women and gods, in short, every object seems to be tintured with various colours, which move in successive undulations; and the more exactly the walls of the theatre are closed, the more the coloured light that comes from above, spreads itself over every thing within, in a smiling and floating picture."

Plin.

xxxvi. 7.

I know not whether it relates to the Ædileship or Prætorship of Spinther, what Pliny relates of the vases made of onyx stone, which he exposed to the eyes of the people, and which were of the bigness of barrels of Chio wine. These barrels [Cadi] might contain a little more than nine and thirty pints. These vases of Spinther seemed a wonder, but it was but for a little time; for five years after co-

(a) Et vulgò faciunt id lutea, rufaque vela,
Et ferrugina, quum magnis intenta theatris
Per malos volgata trabesque trementia flutant.
Namque ibi confessum caveai subter & omnem
Scenai speciem, patrum matrumque, deorumque,
Inficiunt, coguntque suo flutare colore:
Et quanto circum mage sunt inclusa theatri
Mœnia, tam magis hæc intus perfusa lepore
Omnia conident, correpta luce diei.

Lucr. IV. 73.

lums

lums of onyx were seen at Rome, two and thirty feet high. A. R. 692.
Ant. C. 60.

C. Murena, and the learned Varro, Curule *A piece of painting in Fresco brought from Lacedemonia to Rome.* *Flin.* *xxxv. 14.*
Ædiles, either this year or about this time, caused a piece of painting in fresco to be brought from Lacedemonia to Rome, to adorn the public Forum, having confined the wall on which it was done in wooden boxes. This painting was excellent, and drew admiration; but what surprized the most, was, that it could be transported safe and entire.

S E C T. III.

The factious behaviour of Cæsar in his Consulship.

Two customs established or renewed by him, according to Suetonius. The Agrarian laws presented to the Senate by Cæsar. The Senators silent. The steadiness of Cato. Cæsar sends Cato to prison, afterwards releases him. Declares in Senate, that he will go and address himself to the People. He tries in vain to gain over his Collegue. Pompey and Crassus approve of the law publicly. The law passes maugre the generous opposition of Bibulus and Cato. Bibulus is forced to shut himself up in his own house for eight months entirely. Cæsar acts as if he was sole Consul. An oath added by Cæsar to his law. Cato refuses at first to take this oath; and afterwards submits to it. The uncertainty of Cicero concerning the law of Cæsar. In pleading for his Collegue Anthony, he complains of the present state of affairs. In consequence of which Cæsar brings Clodius into the order of the People. The affair and condemnation of Anthony. The territory of Capua distributed by virtue of Cæsar's law. Capua made

made a colony. Cæsar grants the Knights who farmed the public revenue in Asia the abatement they required. He gets the acts of Pompey's Generalship confirmed, and causes the province of Assyria and Gaul to be given to himself. A bold saying of Considius to Cæsar. Cæsar causes the Kings Ariovistus and Ptolomy Auletes to be acknowledged friends and allies to the Commonwealth. The avidity of Cæsar for money. Cæsar marries his daughter to Pompey. He marries Calpurnia himself. Piso and Gabinius escape from the severity of justice by the credit of Cæsar and Pompey. Historical anecdotes composed by Cicero. His indignation against the Triumvirate. His sentiments with respect to Pompey. The discontent of the People against Pompey and Cæsar shews itself at the public spectacles. Cicero's reflections upon the impotent complaints of the Roman citizens. He gives himself up entirely to his pleading. He is accused, with several others, by a scoundrel fellow of having a design to assassinate Pompey. The danger which threatens Cicero on the part of Clodius. The behaviour of Pompey and Cæsar with regard to Cicero, in this conjuncture. Clodius prevents Bibulus's haranguing the People, at his going out of his Consulship.

A. R. 693.
Ant. C. 59.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR.

M. CALPURNIUS BIBULUS.

The factious conduct of Cæsar in his Consulship.

NEVER did any Tribune of the People maintain a conduct more factious, or trample the authority of the Senate under foot with more audacity than Cæsar in his Consulship. But able to save appearances, and make use of specious pretexts, he endeavoured
at

at first to have it believed, that the Senators were in the wrong, that it might seem as if he had been forced by them to turn himself entirely to the side of the People.

I do not speak here of two customs, the institution or reviving of which Suetonius attributes to him. That Historian says, that Cæsar renewed the antient practice, according to which one of the two Consuls only had the fasces carried before him, the other was only preceded by a Cryer, and his Lictors followed him. There was nothing in this but what had been constantly practised since the origine of the Consulate in Rome, only the circumstance of the Lictors marching in the train of the Consul that had not the fasces. The other usage, of which Suetonius makes Cæsar the inventor, was to have a journal kept of all that passed in the Senate, in the assembly of the People, and in the City; and the design of this was, Suetonius says, that, the journal being published in the provinces, the whole Empire might know, that nothing was done, but according to the will, and by order of the Triumvirate. But this custom was ancients than Cæsar; and we have even a fragment of a journal of the like sort, under the second Consulship of Paulus Æmilius, the conqueror of Persia. I shall enter into no farther discussion of these facts.

My object is the politic intrigues of Cæsar, and his seditious enterprizes, in which we may equally observe the superiority of his genius, and the excess of his ambition, that no respect either to the public good, nor laws, nor things, nor persons, were capable to stop him one moment in his course. He found, at his entrance

A. R. 693.
Ant. C. 59.

The customs established or revived by Cæsar, according to Suetonius.
Suet. Cæs. c. 20.

A. R. 693.
Ant. C. 59.

entrance into his Consulship, four great affairs, which could not be compleated under his predecessors : The Agrarian law, proposed by the Tribune Flavius, and supported by all the credit of Pompey ; the confirmation of the rules and orders of that General ; the demand made by the company concerned in the farms of Asia, and maintained by the whole order of the Knights ; and lastly, Clodius's going over to the rank of a Plebeian. He made an end of them all, and in a manner contrary to the inclinations of the Senators, and of most good men in the Commonwealth. He begun with the Agrarian law, which he did not charge any Tribune with, but took upon himself to prepare it, and proposed it in his own name, in the very beginning of his Consulship.

He presented it at first to the Senate, demanding the consent of that body to carry it afterwards to the People. He remonstrated, “ that a distribution of lands among the poor
“ citizens was altogether useful, and even necessary to deliver the city from a multitude
“ of people with which it was overburthened,
“ and who oftentimes gave rise to seditions ;
“ to repeople and cultivate several parts of
“ Italy, which were abandoned ; lastly, to recompence the soldiers who had served the
“ Commonwealth, and give subsistence to
“ many citizens who wanted it.

He added, “ that his law in particular, as
“ he had prepared it, was very moderate, and
“ could be no charge either to the State, or
“ to any private persons. That in distributing
“ the lands belonging to the Commonwealth,
“ he had excepted the territory of Capua,
“ which by its fertility was very valuable to
“ the

“ the State. That for those lands that were to
 “ be bought of private persons, he had or-
 “ dered, that it should be only of such as
 “ were willing to sell, and that the price should
 “ be paid for them, according to the valuation
 “ that had been made of them in the Cen-
 “ sors books. That the Commonwealth could
 “ very well bear this expence, as well by the
 “ prodigious sums that Pompey had brought
 “ into the public treasury, as by the tributes
 “ that he had imposed upon his new con-
 “ quests.

“ Cæsar observed also, that he had named
 “ twenty Commissioners to preside at the dis-
 “ tribution of the lands, a number too large to
 “ be apprehended to agree together in any
 “ thing that might be dangerous to the public
 “ liberty. He observed that he had excepted
 “ himself out of the number of those who
 “ might be chosen for that employment, re-
 “ serving to himself only the honour of hav-
 “ ing proposed the affair : and sweetly inti-
 “ mated, that there were twenty honourable
 “ places, that might be agreeable to several
 “ Senators.”

He was not contented with these representa-
 tions addressed to the Senate in general, but he
 interrogated each Senator, and enquired of
 every one if there was any thing in the law to
 be found fault with, offering to retrench those
 articles that should justly displease, or even en-
 tirely abandon his project, if it could be proved
 to be wrong.

If we believe Dio, to all these questions the
 Senators could not open their mouths, nor
 distinctly point out what was to be blamed in
 the law ; and that which piqued them the most

was,

A. R. 693.
Ant. C. 59.
*The silence
of the
Senators.
The steadiness
of
Cato.*

was, that a proposition so very disgustful to them, was not liable to any criticism. But could they not have complained of the enormous expence that Cæsar put the Commonwealth to, at the same time that he would diminish its revenues; of the tumultuous commotions that the Agrarian laws never failed of exciting among the People; and of the indecency of a Consul's taking upon him the business of the Tribunes? Could they not discover his private views, and have reproached him, as they always had all others whose example he followed, of aiming at tyranny? A reproach so much the better grounded with regard to him, as every step he had taken from his very youth had always declared that design. This silence of the Senators, if there was really such, must either have been the effect of complaisance or of fear; and not of their being unable to criticize the law that Cæsar proposed to them. But Cato, who never knew fear or complaisance, when he undertook the defence of his country, raised his voice aloud against the project of Cæsar, proving that it was not proper to disturb the public tranquillity, and saying plainly, that he did not so much apprehend the division of the lands, as the wages that would be required of the People by those who sought to inveigle them by this present.

So great an affair could not be carried in one session. It was spun out for some time, and so much the longer, as the game that the Senate played was to give hopes of their consent, and at the same time, to avoid coming to a conclusion. The activity and fire of Cæsar did not agree with these delays. He pressed the business, and endeavoured with all his might
to

to get a decisive answer. He still found Cato A.R. 693. Ant. C. 59.
 in his way, wherefore, as the dispute grew Cæsar
 warm, he took an opportunity to order him to sends Cato
 be sent to prison, either as he thought himself to prison,
 offended, or, which is more likely, that he had after-
 a mind to terrify others by so signal an exam- wards re-
 ple. Cato made no resistance: He went out leases him.
 of the Senate without one word of complaint, Plut. Cat. & Cæs.
 but continued constantly talking against the
 law. Several of the Senators followed him,
 and, among the rest, one M. Petreius, who
 being asked by Cæsar why he went out before
 the Senate broke up, made this bold answer to
 him, *Because,* said he, *I had rather be with* Dio &
Cato in a prison, than with you in the Senate. Val. Max.
 Cæsar was struck with this saying: He saw, at
 the same time, in every one's countenance an
 air of indignation against the violence he had
 offered Cato; he also feared what effect the
 respect for the virtue of so great a person so un-
 worthily treated might have upon the People.
 He could have wished, that Cato would have
 asked his pardon; but not daring to hope for
 that, he appointed a Tribune, who by his office
 set him at liberty. II. 10.

The principal affair was not pursued with less He declares
 vigour; and Cæsar calling the Senators to wit- in the
 ness, that he had used his utmost endeavours to Senate that
 gain their approbation, *Since you constrain me to* he will go
it, added he, *I am going to have recourse to the* and address
People. He kept his word; and not only in himself to
 this affair, but in all others that presented the People.
 themselves, he no longer consulted the Senate:
 but even, at that time, made an alteration in his
 law, that rendered it much worse and more dis-
 agreeable to the Senators, by taking in the
 territory

A. R. 691.
Ant. C. 59.

territory of Capua, which he had at first excepted out of it.

He tries in vain to gain over his Colleague.

He was willing however to keep some measures with his Colleague, to whom he had already, at the commencement of his Consulship, made some civil advances. As they were both upon the Tribunal of harangues together, he asked him if he found any thing exceptionable in his law. Bibulus, without entering into any detail, only answered that he should oppose all innovations. Cæsar insisted upon it, and exhorted the People to soften his Colleague by their prayers. *It is upon him,* said he to the multitude, *that your satisfaction depends: If he consents you will have the law.* Bibulus so far from lowering his stile, replied still more roughly; and addressing himself to the People, *Although you would have all the law,* said he, *you shall have no part of it as long as I am Consul.*

Pompey and Crassus approve of the law publicly.
Dio. Plut.
Cæf. & Pomp.

Cæsar exposed himself no more by interrogating any of the Magistrates. He produced Pompey and Crassus before the People, and they were sure of applauding a project that had been concerted with them; but their conspiracy was not yet very well known. Pompey explained himself, in the most favourable manner, for the law, he ran it over, and commended every article, pretending it was highly just that the citizens should partake of the opulence of the State. The People were charmed. Cæsar, who without doubt had prepared all this scene with his associates, raised his voice, and said to Pompey; *Since you approve of the law, I desire to know, if you will support it, in case those who are against it should use violence to hinder its being received.* And at the same time he invited the People to beseech it

it of Pompey. There was something not a little flattering to Pompey, then but a private man, to see the Consul and the People imploring his support. The vanity occasioned by this made him use a language more haughty, more opposed to republican principles, and more threatening, than he had ever done before. *If they come, said he, with the sword to oppugn the law, I will come to support it, with sword and buckler.* This saying was received with acclamations of applause by the multitude; but it extremely exasperated all the better sort, who thought his manner of speaking and thinking was more becoming an audacious young man than that of one of the first citizens of the Commonwealth. Crassus shewed himself to be of the same sentiments with Pompey and Cæsar, and this union of three persons so powerful made it appear to the clear-sighted, that any resistance to the law would be ineffectual.

Bibulus was not to be discouraged, by this, but supported by three Tribunes and Cato, continued with an invincible constancy, to oppose his Collegue. At last, after having tried every other resource, he took the method of declaring every day a holiday for the remaining part of the year, which was to hinder all deliberations of the People. We have seen that Sylla, in his first Consulship, made use of the same stratagem against the Tribune Sulpicius; but that Tribune forced him to revoke his ordinance. Cæsar did more, he laughed at the edict of his Collegue, went on as if no such thing had happened, and named a particular day for the People to give their suffrages for the law: and Pompey, according to the declaration he had

A. R. 693.
Ant. C. 59.

made in full assembly, filled the city with armed men.

Bibulus, it seemed, could not be there; he had only wasted himself in fruitless endeavours. It was not even allowed him to call together the Senate, for Cæsar had prevented it. He held in his own house a little Council of the principal Senators; and there it was resolved, that he should go to the assembly of the People, that it might not be said that he had receded; but was overcome; and that if the law passed, as they did not doubt but it would, that it was from any negligence of his, but from an outrageous violence of his Colleague.

He came accordingly while Cæsar was haranguing. All the avenues to the Forum were filled by the attendants on the Triumvirs, armed with poinards under their gowns, and posted in divers places the night before. When Bibulus appeared, accompanied by Lucullus and Cato, the passages were opened to him, as well in respect to his dignity, as because several flattered themselves that he would give up his opposition. But as soon as he had opened his mouth, to testify that he would always persevere in the same sentiments, a most dreadful tumult ensued; and Cæsar was not ashamed to deliver up his Colleague to the incensed mob, who threw a pannier of filth upon his head, dragged him with violence to the steps of the temple of Castor, and broke the fasces of his Lictors. Several of those who were with Bibulus were wounded; and, among others, two Tribunes of the People. In the midst of so horrible a disorder, and so imminent danger, Bibulus shewed a resolution worthy of admiration.

ration. He uncovered his throat, and invited the attendants on Cæsar to strike there, crying out with a loud voice, *Since I cannot teach Cæsar to be an honest man, my death at least may serve to draw down the vengeance of heaven upon him, and render him detestable to all men.* While he spoke thus, his friends took hold of him, and carried him into the temple of Jupiter Stator.

I do not know whether it was upon this occasion, that Vatinius, a Tribune of the People, entirely devoted to the will of Cæsar, undertook to put Bibulus in prison. He had already prepared a sort of bridge from the tribunal of harangues to the gate of the prison, upon which he would have carried him along; but the other Tribunes having opposed this violence, which very likely was not approved by Cæsar, the thing went no farther. This Vatinius was a man equally worthy of hatred and contempt, without birth, without manners, the shame and disgrace of Rome. Such are the tools that are fit for ambitious men like Cæsar.

After Bibulus had been thus removed, Cato still continued in the place; but, being then only a private man, had no other arms than his courage and his virtue. Twice he advanced to the middle of the Assembly, speaking with all the vehemence imaginable; and twice Cæsar's People took him by the waist, and carried him out of the Forum. At length the coast was clear to Cæsar, and the law was authorized by the suffrages of the People.

The next day the Senate being assembled, Bibulus carried his complaints thither: but fear had damped all their courage; and this zealous

A. R. 693
Ant. C. 59.
*Bibulus is
forced to
shut him-
self up in
his own
house for
eight
months en-
tirely.*
Dio. Suet.
Cic. in
Vatin.

but unfortunate Consul, seeing himself destitute of all support, and all resource, was reduced to shut himself up in his own house, during all the remaining part of his Consulship, that is to say, for eight months entirely, exercising no one function of his office, except it was, that he oftentimes ordered placards to be fixed up in Rome against the tyranny of the Triumvirs; and farther, every time Cæsar undertook any thing that was new, he caused his ordinance to be published, by which he had converted every day of the year into a holyday; but he could not enjoy this little piece of revenge in safety, for the same Vatinius, who would have imprisoned him, sent one of his Serjeants to take him out of his house by force, had not the assistance of the other Tribunes rescued him from the danger.

*Cæsar acts
as if he
was sole
Consul.*
Dio. &
Suet.

All the functions of the Consulate fell to Cæsar alone, who acted as if he had been without a Colleague; which gave room for the pleasantry of some, who distinguished the year of which we are speaking, not after the common usage, by the names of the two Consuls, Cæsar and Bibulus, but by the two names only of Cæsar, saying, It was in the year of the Consulship of Julius and of Cæsar.

*An oath
added by
Cæsar to
his law.
Cato re-
fuses at
first to take
this oath,
and after-
wards sub-
mits to it.*
Plut. Cat.
Cic. pro
Sext. 2. 61.

He was not satisfied with having got his law to pass; but by the example of the seditious Saturninus, he joined an oath to it, which he obliged all the people to take, and even subjected the Senate to it under very great penalties. A new subject of discontent and quarrel. Three Senators at first refused to submit to this oath; Metellus Celer, who would revive the example of Metellus Numidicus's constancy; Cato; and Favonius, who strove

to imitate Cato, but fell very far short of so excellent an original. Not any one of the three held out to the last. Cato, though pressed by his wife and his sisters, who conjured him, with tears in their eyes, to yield to necessity, would yet, it is very likely, have resisted these domestic assaults, if Cicero had not persuaded him to it, by representing to him, "that if it might be even justifiable for a single person to oppose what was done and regulated by the whole Nation, yet it must be acting like a madman to be willing to throw one self down a precipice when the evil was done, and could admit of no alteration or remedy." To conclude, added he, after having always laboured for the good of your Country, how can you abandon it at this time, and give it up as a prey to its enemies, thinking only of your own repose, and seeking, as it seems, how to withdraw yourself from the battle that ought to be maintained for its service? For (a) if Cato has no need of Rome, Rome has need of Cato. All your friends unite to conjure you not to be inflexible, and myself the first of all, to whom you cannot refuse your succour in the present conjuncture, when Clodius aspires at the Tribuneship for my destruction. These reasons convinced Cato, and he took the oath, but last of every one, except Favonius, who would not swear till he had.

Cæsar extended the obligation of the oath to the candidates who should demand the employments for the following year. He prepar-

A. R. 693.
Ant. C. 59.

Cic. II.
add Att.
18. & pro
Planc.
n. 52.

(a) Non offert se ille (Ca- sit, se cive Rempubicam
to) istis temeritatibus, ut privet. Cic pro Sext. n. 61.
quum Reipublicæ nihil pro-

A. R. 693^d ed a form by which they were to engage themselves, with most terrible imprecations, to make no innovations to the prejudice of what his law had determined concerning the distribution and possession of the lands of Campania. M. Juventius Leterensis, a man distinguished by his birth, and still more by his merit, chose rather to renounce his pretensions to the employment of the Tribune of the People, than to take this oath : but he was the only one who did so.

The incertitude of Cicero concerning the Agrarian law.
Cic. ad. Att. II. 3.

I do not see that Cicero had any other share in what passed on the subject of the Agrarian law, than what I have just observed, in speaking of his solicitations with Cato. When this affair began to be put in motion, Cicero examining with Atticus the three parties which he might take, either to resist it with courage, or keep a kind of neutrality or favour it, shews what the care of his reputation exacted from him. *Let us remain neuter, said he, as if buried in a house in the country. Cæsar hopes I will second him, and he invites me to it. See the advantages I shall gain by taking this party. The friendship of Pompey, and even that of Cæsar, if I desired it ; a reconciliation with my enemies ; the peace of the multitude ; and the assurance of quiet in my old age, but after the conduct I have maintained in my Consulship, and the principles that I have established in my writings, ought not my rule to be this maxim of Homer. The best (a) of all counsels is to defend one's country ?*

In pleading for his Collegue Anthony he complains of the pre-

About the same time Anthony, his Collegue in the Consulship, was accused, at his arrival
(a) Εἰς δὲ τὰς ἀποφάσεις ἀμείνων καὶ πατρῶν. Hom. II. M. 243.

from

from Macedonia, where he had been Proconsul. A. R. 693.
Ant. C. 59.
Cicero had no reason to be satisfied with him, sent state
nevertheless he defended him. In his pleading of affairs :
he ventured at making some complaints a- in conse-
gainst the actual state of affairs, and against the quence of
triumviral league. Cæsar had his revenge at which
hand. Clodius for a long time had desired to Cæsar
make himself a Plebeian, but could not suc- brings Clo-
ceed according to rule. One Fonteius, a Ple- dus into
beian, adopted him, and thereby introduced the order
him among the People ; but the concurrence of of the Peo-
public authority was necessary for him, which ple.
he had not hitherto been able to obtain. Cæ- Cic. pro
sar offended at the liberty that Cicero had Domon.
taken, lent Clodius his assistance. He caused a 41. n. 34,
law to pass which was wanting to confirm the 37.
adoption, and presided himself in the assembly
of the Curia called together for this purpose.
There was occasion for the ministry of one of Cic. ad
the Augurs, Pompey performed this office, and Att. II.
all was ended with a surprizing dispatch. Ci- 12.
cero pleaded at noon, and at three o'clock Clo-
dus was a Plebeian. This adoption was but a
farce, that had nothing serious in it. Fonteius
was married, and younger than the man he
adopted. Moreover as he acquired over his
adopted son the rights of paternal power, which
were very extensive among the Romans ; that
Clodius might not be restrained thereby, and still
continue master of his person and his actions,
as he had been before, Fonteius no sooner a-
dopted, but he emancipated him. Clodius
nevertheless was no less a Plebeian, and eligi-
ble to the office of a Tribune of the People.
I imagine that this was the terror that Cicero
conceived, when he saw his enemy in a condi-
tion to hurt him ; which determined him to

A. R. 693.
Ant. C. 59. be silent with regard to Cæsar's law; and afterwards, ashamed of acting as a mute, what made him, when the business was finished, retire into the country, where he continued some time.

*The affair
of the con-
demnation
of Anthony.*
Dio.

Cic. pro
Cæl. 15,
& 78.

Cic. pro
Flacco.
n. 95.

I am obliged to run slightly over the accusation of Anthony, that I may keep in view what I have entered upon concerning Cicero. This fact however is worth stopping for a little. Anthony being Proconsul of Macedonia, had troubled the subjects of the Empire, and suffered them to be beat by their enemies, the Dardanians, the Bastarnæ, and other barbarous People. At his return to Rome he was brought to justice by three accusers, one of whom was M. Cælius, a young man of much spirit, who became a great Orator, but a turbulent citizen. The accusation was not on account of Anthony's bad conduct in his Province: He was prosecuted as an accomplice of Catiline, he who had put the finishing stroke to the conspiracy by the battle of Pistorium. What was singular in this was, that the accusers spoke true. Anthony had dipt into that conspiracy of which he had been the avenger. The Judges condemned him; so that, according to the observation of Cicero (a), the remembrance of the great services he had done the Commonwealth was of no advantage to him, and he was punished for an ill will that had no effect. The sentence that was passed upon him was a subject of triumph for the remains of Catiline's party, who thought their Chief revenged by the con-

(a) Cui misero præclari in opinio maleficii cogitati.
Rempublicam beneficii me- Cic. Pro. Cæl. n. 74.
moriam nihil profuit, nocuit

demnation of him who had finished his destruction. They signalized their joy by a feast which they celebrated about the tomb, or Cenotaph, of this enemy of his country. They gathered there in great numbers, decked it with flowers, and had a large banquet there. Strabo assures us that Anthony chose the Isle of Cephalenia for the place of his exile, of which he got the entire demesn, and in which he built a new city, but had not time to make an end of it, being recalled from exile, before he had put the last hand to the work. If this fact be true, Anthony must have enriched himself extremely in his government, that is to say he must have thoroughly plundered his Province; for we have seen that he was over head and ears in debt during his Consulship.

Cæsar having caused his law to be received, thought immediately how to have it executed. I find only the territory of Capua distributed by virtue of this law. That territory was destined to fathers of families, who should have three children or more. There were twenty thousand found in this condition. Twenty Commissioners were chosen to preside at this distribution, and Pompey entirely devoted to the will of Cæsar, did not disdain to accept of this commission, with partners in it undoubtedly not of his rank, among others M. Atius Balbus, Cæsar's brother-in-law, and grandfather of Augustus, but otherwise does not appear to have been a man of any great consequence. Among these twenty Commissioners was also one Cosconius, who died before the end of the year; and his place was offered to Cicero, but he refused it. He thought there was no great honour in being invited to fill up the place of

A. R. 693.
Ant. C. 52.

Strabo L.
X. p. 455.

The territory of Capua distributed by virtue of Cæsar's law.

Freinshem. CIII. 93.

Cic. ad Att. II.

12.
Suet. Aug. c. 4.

Cic. ad Att. II.

19.

A. R. 693, a
Ant. C. 59.

Cic. ad
Att. IX.
2.

Capua
made a
colony.
Vell. II.
44.

Person who was dead; and on the other hand it would have much sullied his past glory, without bringing any great advantage to him. This employment would not have screened him from the persecution of Clodius. Cæsar was very much offended at this refusal, and afterwards oftentimes reproached Cicero with it, as a strong proof of his enmity, in that he would receive no favour from his hand.

The twenty Commissioners established a Colony at Capua, and thus drew that city out of the subjection in which the Romans had kept it for an hundred and fifty years. They had all that time bore the punishment of their revolt against Rome after the battle of Cannæ, and had continued without Senate, without Magistrates, and without an Assembly of the People. It was only the retreat of those who cultivated the territory, and every year an officer was sent from Rome to do justice there. Raised by Cæsar to the rank of a colony, it was delivered from this kind of servitude. The Roman colonies were like little Commonwealths, which governed themselves in imitation of Rome their metropolis.

This alteration in the condition of Capua, was no ill in itself. Rome was from this time arrived at too great a degree of power to fear a rival. But it was a real loss to the public treasure, to have the territory of this city distributed among private persons. These lands, the most fruitful of all Italy, having been confiscated after the taking of Capua, belonged to the Commonwealth, and those who cultivated them were no other than the farmers of them. The loss of this revenue therefore impoverished the State, which had already just suffered a considerable

siderable diminution in its Finances by the abolishing the duties on tolls and entrances.

A. R. 663.
Ant. C. 59.

Cæsar having made his court to the people by the Agrarian law, was willing also to gain the affection of the Knights. He thought he had found an opportunity of doing it, in the affair of the farmers of the revenues belonging to the Commonwealth in Asia, who had for a long time, desired an abatement to no purpose. He allowed it them, and lessened the price of their lease one third part. But his conduct was so odious, and so tyrannical, that he could not make himself beloved, even by those on whom he conferred favours. Cicero informs us, that Cæsar coming into the theatre, at the public games, the Knights never moved to him, nor gave him any mark of applause: Whilst, on the contrary, they rose up to applaud young Curio, who took upon him to decry the Triumvirs, and who associated with other young persons of the first quality, in a design of rising against them, and, if possible, to destroy their power.

Cæsar grants the Knights who farmed the public revenues in Asia the abatement they required.
Suet. Cæs.
Dio. Cic.
ad Att.
II. 19.

The People groaned under it; but the Triumvirs had the power in their own hands. Cæsar, having got rid of his Colleague, who dared not any longer appear, acted in every thing as absolute master of the Commonwealth. He caused the acts of Pompey's Generalship to be ratified, the confirmation of which could not be obtained the year before. And Lucullus having dared still to make some resistance, he intimidated him so much, by threatening him with all sorts of oppressions and troubles, that this great man, who began to abate somewhat in his former vigour, threw himself upon his knees to ask his pardon. He brought

A. R. 693.
Ant. C. 59.
Pigh.
Ann.

Freinf-
hem.
CIII. 96.

Cic. pro
Cæl. n. 59.

brought in divers laws, some of which contained useful regulations concerning crimes which wounded the majesty of the Empire, concussions and others. He took care that the government of the provinces should be given to his friends, or to such as he thought fit; and not forgetting himself, he took the command of Illyria and Cisalpine Gaul, with three legions, for five years. This command was bestowed upon him by the People, at the request of the Tribune Vatinius.

This was already very much, and Cæsar might applaud himself, for having rendered the precaution of the Senate ineffectual, who, even before he entered upon his office, had destined for him and his Colleague the idle provinces, the clearing forests, and the making roads. But, in the mean time, Metellus Cæler, who had the province of Transalpine Gaul, dying, not without suspicion of being poisoned by his wife Clodia, Cæsar laid hold of the occasion to increase his power, and render his victory over the Senate compleat. He forced this body to improve upon what the People had given him, by adding another legion with Transalpine Gaul. The Senators, cast down and discouraged, chose rather that he should have this augmentation of his power from them, than that he should again fly to the People to obtain it, and thereby lose their right of settling and bestowing the governments of the provinces: A right which belonged to them from all antiquity, and which had been confirmed to them even by a law of C. Gracchus.

Notwithstanding this complaisance of the Senate, the discontent of its members could not

not help shewing itself, by the greatest part of them absenting themselves from the assemblies, which grew very thin. *Cæsar* complaining of this one day, *Q. Considius*, a Senator very much advanced in years, told him that they absented themselves because they feared his arms and his soldiers. *And why then,* answered *Cæsar*, *does not the same fear keep you at home?* *Because,* replied *Considius* with freedom, *the small remains of life I can hope for, are not worth my care.*

These sorts of reproaches, without doubt, mortified *Cæsar*, but they did not prevent his continuing to deserve them. The views of his ambition even carried him beyond the bounds of the Empire; and that he might attach foreign Kings to him, he caused *Ariovistus* King of the *Suevii* in Germany, and *Ptolomy* *Auletes* King of Egypt to be acknowledged friends and allies of the Roman People. It is remarkable that *Cæsar* had formerly looked upon *Ptolomy* as illegitimate, and as the usurper of a Kingdom that belonged to the Romans, wherefore he had made interest for a commission to be sent with troops to dethrone him, and now this same *Cæsar* causes him to be acknowledged King by the Senate and People of Rome: But ambition was not the only principle of this management; interest had a great share in it. *Cæsar* drew from *Ptolomy* *Auletes* as well in his own name as that of *Pompey*, six thousand talents, or nine hundred thousand pounds sterling.

It is true *Cæsar* did not covet money to hoard it up; but, on the contrary, plentifully dispersed it, that by his enormous profusions he might

*A. R. 693.
Ant. C. 59.*

*A bold saying of Considius to Cæsar.
Plut. Cæs.*

Cæsar causes the Kings Ariovistus and Ptolomy Auletes to be acknowledged friends and allies of the Commonwealth.

Suet. Cæs. c. 54.

Cæsar's avidity for money.

A. R. 693.
Ant. C. 59.

might facilitate the executions of his vast designs. And this is a proof how much ambition, which passes with some for a noble and exalted passion, is united with the most shameful covetousness, that makes men commit the meanest actions. History does not only reproach Cæsar with having sold his protection to an Egyptian King; but accuses him of actions still more unworthy, as of having stole, during his Consulship, three thousand pounds weight of gold out of the Capitol, and putting the like weight of gilt copper in its place. And all the rest of his life; both in Gaul and other places, that it was by rapine and manifest sacrileges, that he found wherewithal to defray the immense expences of his extravagant ambition.

*Cæsar
marries
his daughter
to Pompey.
Plut. Cæ.
& Pomp.
Dio Suet.
Cæf.*

Cæsar was at this time closely leagued with Pompey; but he was soon to be separated from him for a long while, since at his going out of his Consulship he was to depart for Gaul. He dreaded the inconveniences of his absence. Pompey might grow cool with regard to him, and lend his ear to the discourses of several People who would not fail to endeavour to detach him from his friendship; and might conceive a jealousy himself, if Cæsar became great enough to give him umbrage. A marriage cemented their union. Cæsar marries Julia, his only daughter to Pompey, whom he had by Cornelia his first wife. Julia was promised to Servilius Cepio. Cæsar comforted him by persuading Pompey to give him his daughter, who was to have been married to Faustus Sylla. Thus Pompey became the son-in-law of him, whom he had often, in the anguish of his soul, called

called his (a) *Ægisthus*; for *Cæsar* was supposed to have corrupted *Mucia*, as I have said elsewhere. After this alliance, *Cæsar* transferred to *Pompey* an honour which till then had been given to *Crassus*; he caused him to be acknowledged the chief of the Senate, and that contrary to the established custom, of the person's preserving that distinction for the whole year to whom it had been granted on the first of January. *Cæsar* made a sort of excuse to *Crassus*, by rendering an account to the Senate of the motive that determined him to this innovation.

Act. R. 693.
Act. C. 59.

Desirous to procure supports from all sides, he married himself *Calphurnia*, the daughter of *Piso*, whom the *Triumvirs* destined for the Consulship the year following. This precaution seemed so much the more necessary to *Cæsar*, as, according to the resolutions taken among themselves, *Gabinus*, the everlasting flatterer of *Pompey*, was to be Consul with *Piso*. By all these marriages the public affairs, the interests of the state, were openly trafficked for, as *Cato* complained with great strength of argument, but without any success.

He married Calphurnia himself.

Neither *Piso* nor *Gabinus* were worthy of the supreme dignity, to which they were exalted by favour. Their conduct in their Consulship sufficiently proved it. But before they obtained it, they were both accused, and neither of them saved by his innocence.

Piso and Gabinius escape from the severity of justice, by the credit of Cæsar and Pompey.

Piso was returned from the government of a Province, where he had harrassed the subjects

Val. Max. VIII. 1.

(a) *Pompey* alluded to what the Poets relate of *Clytemnestra's* being corrupted by *Ægis-*

thus during the absence of *Agamemnon*.

A. R. 693.
Ant. C. 59.

of the Commonwealth by all kinds of rapine and extortion. Clodius, a worthy avenger of offended laws, declared himself his accuser. The process was made out, and several of the Judges seemed to act with severity. Piso prostrated himself upon the earth, and kissed their feet to endeavour to move them, and as a great shower of rain fell at that instant (*a*), his face was all covered with mud. The judges were touched with this humiliation, according to Valerius Maximus: but it is more likely, that the credit of Cæsar contributed much more to the absolution of the man, who either was, or going to be his father-in-law.

Cic. ad
Q. Fr. I.
2.

Gabinus did not see himself in so much danger because the protection of Pompey screened him from it. After he had been appointed Consul, a young man of the family of the Cato's, would have accused him of canvassing. But the Prætors eluded his pursuits, by avoiding to give him audience, and always sending him away on divers pretexts. This Cato was a rash young man, who would keep no measures. Outragious to see himself thus trifled with, he mounted the tribunal of harangues, and complained bitterly against Pompey, treating him as a private man who played the Dictator. There needed no more to move those who heard him: he expected to have perished by their hands, and it was not without great difficulty that he saved his life, by flying away with all the speed that he was able. Cicero with good reason says, that this fact alone shewed, that there was no longer a Commonwealth, and that all was lost.

* The court of justice was in the public Forum, and the tribunals in the open air.

I have already said, that Cicero had retired into the country about the middle of April. He passed several weeks there at leisure, but not without great agitation of mind. The public affairs, his own danger, took up all his thoughts, and excited in him very lively motions of grief and indignation. Not being able to remedy the evils of the State, he undertook to paint them in an anecdotal history, wherein he would give a free scope to his reflections, and spare nobody. He executed this design, and the following years furnished him but with too much matter to enrich it. He yet spoke of it in the last year of his life, in a letter to Atticus, who was the only person he intended should be permitted to read it. There is very good reason to believe, that this work is the same wherein he gives *the exposition of his counsels and of his conduct*, and which is mentioned by Asconius Pedianus and Dio. Ascon. in Dio says, that Cicero kept it a secret all his life time, and that he gave it sealed up to his son, forbidding him to read, or publish it before his death. We have it not, and cannot sufficiently regret the loss of a piece of history from so good a hand, of which the subject was so curious and so interesting.

Cicero's indignation against the Triumviral league was extreme, but the caresses of Pompey, and the fear of danger, hindered him from shewing it. He was therefore reduced to the necessity of those impotent complaints only, which he constantly made in all his letters to Atticus. He incessantly repeated, that all was overthrown, and that there no longer remained any hope of liberty either for private persons, or even for the magistrates

A. R. 693.
Ant. C. 59.*Historical
anecdotes
composed by
Cicero.*Cic. ad
Att. II. 6.
Lib. xiv.
ad Att. 17.Tog.
Cand. &
Dio. L.
xxxix.*His indig-
nation a-
gainst the
Triumvi-
rate.*

A. R. 693.
Ant. C. 59.

themselves. He affected to rejoice, that he was excluded from all share in the government, and was desirous to comfort himself with philosophy. He would not have been sorry to have had one of those free embassies, as the Romans called them, by which a Senator was allowed to absent himself, and go with a title of honour wherever he would. He would have made his advantage of it, by going into Egypt and to Alexandria: But he scorned to owe any thing to the Triumvirate, or to receive any favours from them, which might give room to the partizans of the aristocracy, and especially to Cato, to accuse him of inconstancy and levity. And, nevertheless, so much weakness is to be found in the greatest minds! At this very time Metellus Celer dying, as I have said before, and leaving the place of one of the Augurs vacant, Cicero not only desired it, but confessed (a) to Atticus, that, that was the way by which the Triumvirs could gain him. He was sensible how much this manner of thinking was beneath him, and blushed for it: but vanity and ambition had so strong a power over his heart, that he was ready to sacrifice his glory to the vain splendor of this place. Nothing of this took place: he was neither Ambassador nor Augur; but returned to Rome, always a friend to Pompey, but always an enemy to the oppression of which Pompey was the author.

His sentiments with respect to Pompey.

When I call him the friend of Pompey, it is without being willing to exclude the sentiments of distrust, jealousy, and sometimes of

(a) Quo quidem uno ego ab istis capi possum. Vide levitatem meam.

choler,

choler, which Cicero successively shewed with regard to him. But all this passed, I know not how, with a serious, and even a tender attachment to him. I cannot resolve to deprive the reader of a pleasure I have tasted, by comparing the different places of the letters to Atticus, wherein Cicero opens his heart to another self with regard to Pompey.

Sometimes he pulls him down, and his vanity is flattered by the injury that Pompey does to his own reputation, by the tyrannical conduct he maintains. "I beheld, says he, all that passes with indifferent eyes, I even confess (a), that the foible which I have for praise and for glory (for it becomes a gallant man not to be blind to his own faults) finds its advantage in the opprobrium with which Pompey is loaded. I had some slight uneasiness to think that a thousand years hence his services to his country might be thought greater than mine. He has done all that is necessary to rid me of that fear."

In another place he threatens him, and doubting with reason of the assurances, that Pompey had given him, that Clodius should undertake nothing against him. "I (b) would

 H_2

“ give

(a) Quin etiam quod est subinane in nobis, & non *ἐφελκυστικόν* (bellum est enim sua vitia nosse) afficitur quâdam delectatione. Solebat enim me pungere, ne ¹ sumpserami merita in patriam

ad sexcentos annos majora
viderentur quàm nostra.
Hâc quidem curâ certè jam
vacuum est.

(b) Si verò, quæ de me
pacta sunt, ea non servantur,
in cœlo sum: ut sciat hic
noster

* This is one of the names that Cicero gives Pompey in his letters to Atticus. It was that of a little tyrant vanquished by Pompey in Syria.

A. R. 693.
Ant. C. 59.

" give any thing, says he, that the engagements made with me may not be observed. " Then our conqueror * of Jerusalem, who " lent his ministry to Clodius to make him " a Plebeian, shall be made sensible of the " ingratitude with which he has repayed the " praises that I have bestowed upon him in my " orations. Expect in this case to see the " most stinging recantation."

After these transports of anger, Cicero returned to sentiments of a hearty and sincere affection. Towards the middle of the Consulship of Cæsar, the Triumviral league was universally detested. The great men and the people revenged themselves by discourses. The multitude followed the Triumvirs with hissing; Gentlemen took them to pieces in their entertainments; and the murmuring was general throughout all Italy. Bibulus set up edicts or proclamations in Rome in the most biting stile against Cæsar and Pompey. And see how Cæsar explains himself in this situation of affairs.— (a) " Our friend, who was never " accustomed

noster Hierosolymarius tra-
ductor ad plebem, quàm bo-
nam meis purissimis oratio-
nibus gratiam retulerit: qua-
rum expecta divinam pa-
ludiam.

* It was through derision
that Cicero thus named Pom-
pey. The Romans, and Cicero
particularly, had an extreme
contempt for the Jews.

(a) Ille amicus noster, in
solens infamix, semper in
laude versatus, circumfluens
gloriâ, deformatus corpore,
fractus animo, quò se con-

ferat nescit. Progressum præ-
cipitem, redditum incon-
stantem videt: bonos inimi-
cos habet, improbos ipsos
non amicos. Ac vide mol-
litiem animi: non tenet
lacrymas, quum illum ante
octavum Kal. sextiles vidi
de edictis Bibuli concionan-
tem. Qui antea solitus esset
jactare se magnificentissime
illo in loco, summo cum
amore populi, cunctis faven-
tibus, ut ille tum humilis,
ut demissus erat! ut ipse
etiam sibi, non iis solum
quib

" accustomed to ignominy, but constantly fil-
 " led with praises, who was all surrounded
 " and beaming with glory, now dispirited,
 " and even carrying the marks of his humili-
 " ation in his outward form, knows not what
 " party to take. To go forward, would be to
 " throw himself down a precipice; to draw
 " back would be inconstancy. Good men are
 " his enemies, and he is not beloved by the
 " bad. See how weak I am; I was not able
 " to refrain from tears, when I saw him ha-
 " rangue the people on the 25th of July,
 " and make his apology against the placarts of
 " Bibulus. He who formerly appeared with
 " splendor on the tribunal of harangues, be-
 " loved by the people even to adoration, ap-
 " plauded by all, how little and how mean did
 " he appear at the time I am speaking of!
 " How much pity did he draw to himself and
 " others! O spectacle, that could rejoice none
 " but Crassus! * For my own part, I was

qui aderant displicebat! O
 spectaculum uni Crasso ju-
 cundum! — Ut Apelles, si
 venerem, ut si Protogenes
 Jalysum illum suum cœno
 oblitum videret, magnum,
 credo, acciperet dolorem; sic
 ego hunc omnibus à me pic-
 tum & politum artis colori-
 bus, subito deformatum non
 sine magno dolore vidi.
 Quamquam nemo putabat,
 propter Clodianum negoti-
 um, me illi amicum esse de-
 bere: tamen tantus fuit a-
 mor, ut exhaustiri nullâ pos-
 set injuriâ. Itaque archilo-
 chia in illum edicta Bibuli
 populo ita sunt jucunda, ut
 eum locum ubi proponuntur,

præ multitudine eorum qui
 legunt, transire nequeant;
 ipsi ita acerba, ut tabescat
 dolore; mihi mehercule mo-
 lesta, quod et etiam, quem
 semper dilexi, nimis excru-
 ciant, & timeo tam vehe-
 mens vir, tamque acer in
 ferro, & tam insuetus con-
 tumeliæ, ne omni animi
 impetu dolori & iracundiæ
 pareat.

* Cicero supposes, with pro-
 bability enough, that Crassus,
 to subvert the glory of Pompey,
 always gave umbrage, would
 feel a malignant joy to see
 him dishonoured and covered
 with shame.

A. R. 693.
Ant. C. 59.

“ pierced with grief: and even as Apelles or
 “ Protogenes, if they were to see the chief
 “ master-pieces of their pencils covered with
 “ mud, would, I believe, be much afflicted ;
 “ so I cannot, without a sensible concern, see
 “ him whom I have taken pleasure to paint
 “ in all the most beautiful colours of eloquence,
 “ on a sudden dishonoured and made contemp-
 “ tible. Nobody thinks that after the part he
 “ took in the affair of Clodius, I ought to
 “ be still his friend : but my love for him is so
 “ great, that no offence on his side can tear
 “ me from him. The edicts of Bibulus, which
 “ are truly defamatory libels, give so much
 “ pleasure to the people, that it is difficult to
 “ pass by the places where they are set up,
 “ the crowd is so great of those, who stop to
 “ read them. Pompey is in despair, and lost
 “ in grief ; and I am mortified, as much be-
 “ cause they too violently afflict the man I
 “ have always loved, as because I apprehend
 “ that one so high, trained up from his in-
 “ fancy in arms, and so little accustomed to
 “ affronts, may from his great spirit give him-
 “ self up to resentment and revenge.”

What I have said, after Cicero, of the pro-
 digious hissing at Cæsar and Pompey, may
 seem very strange ; but the liberty, or rather
 licentiousness, was carried much farther at the

*The discon-
 tent of the
 People a-
 gainst
 Pompey
 and Cæsar
 shows it-
 self at the
 public spec-
 tacles.*

representation of a tragedy, where one of the
 actors pronounced a verse, with a visible allu-
 sion to Pompey, the sense of which was, (a)
*It is for our misfortune that you are become
 great.* The People sensible of the application,
 applauded it, and obliged the player to repeat

(a) Nostrâ Miseriâ tu es magnus.

the

the same verse above a hundred times. The same sport was renewed several times in the piece, which seemed to be made on purpose for Pompey. As in the following passage: *There (a) will come a time when you shall severely regret that virtue, which has hitherto been your glory, and which you have now abandoned.* Cæsar was no more spared than the other: and on the contrary, young Curio, who had shewed himself a declared enemy of the triumviral league, received applauses on all sides.

This universal reviling, which wrought no charge in the state of affairs, caused Cicero to make sorrowful reflections. "It is (b) a subject, not of hope, but of grief, says he to Articus, to see the tongues of our citizens at liberty, and their arms chained." And in another letter he repeats the same complaints with more extent. "The Republic, says he, (c) perishes by a kind of illness which is without example. The present government draws upon it the dislike, the complaints and the murmurs of all the world. There is no variety on this subject; every one speaks aloud, all complain openly; and yet no one can propose any remedy to the ills that press us. It is very true that resistance in all likelihood would bring on a general carnage:

(a) Eamdem virtutem istam, veniet tempus, quum graviter gemes.

(b) His ex rebus non spes, sed dolor est major, quum videas civitatis voluntatem solutam, virtutem alligatam.

(c) Nunc quidem novo quodam morbo civitas moritur, ut, quum omnes ea quæ

sunt acta improbant, querantur, doleant, varietasque in re nulla sit, aperteque loquantur, & jam clarè gemant, tamen medicina nulla afferatur. Neque enim resisti sine internecione posse arbitramur; nec videmus, qui finis cedendi, præter exitium, futurus sit.

A. R. 693. " but I do not see to what our easily yielding,
Ant. C. 59. " will tend, if, not to the loss of every thing,

*He gives
himself up
entirely to
his plead-
ing.*

Nevertheless he could not take this last method himself. He entirely renounced all care of the public affairs; assisted no more at any debates; and gave himself up entirely to his pleading. This resource was very useful to him. By this he gave new life to his former credit, procured to himself a certain splendor, maintained or restored the zeal of his friends, and also prepared himself to support the assaults of Clodius. But there happened to him another affair, in which he was involved with several of the most illustrious citizens of Rome: a black intrigue of Cæsar, which turned to the shame of its author, and to the destruction of a miserable wretch whom he had made a tool of.

Young Curio, as I have said, had rendered himself odious to Cæsar, by declaring against the Triumvirate. Cæsar resolved to perplex him, and several others, by spiriting up a serious accusation against them, capable of making a great noise. For this purpose he made

*He is ac-
cused, with
several
others, by
a scoundrel
fellow of
having a
design to
assassinate
Pompey.
Cie. ad
Att. II.
24, & in
Vat. 22.
26.*

use of that Vettius, who had formerly impeached him himself as an accomplice of Catiline. Vettius insinuated himself into the friendship of young Curio, and when he had gained his confidence, he opened to him the design which he said he had to fall upon Pompey with his slaves, and to kill him. He was in hopes that Curio would have come into the proposal, or at least have kept his secret: and then his scheme was to have come into the Forum with a poinard, and to have brought also his slaves thither well armed; to have got himself apprehended in that condition, and afterwards to have accused Curio. The horror which this young

young man expressed at the design of assassinating Pompey, somewhat disconcerted Vettius. Curio acquainted his father with the discourse he had had with him; the father gave Pompey notice of it, and he brought the affair before the Senate.

Vettius was sent for, and at first denied that he had any concern with Curio. Afterwards finding himself close pressed, he demanded the assurance of his life; and then deposed, that a company of young men of whom Curio was the chief, and among whom he named Paulus Emilius, Brutus, and some others, had formed a design to kill Pompey. He shewed himself no bad schemer by bringing Brutus into the party, who looked upon Pompey as his father's murderer, and who, for that reason, had not for a long time had any commerce with him. But he failed with respect to Bibulus, from whom he pretended to have received a dagger. This seemed ridiculous, and with good reason, for sure Vettius might have found a dagger without the help of the Consul. And what totally confounded the imposture was, that on the 13th of May, Bibulus had given notice to Pompey, to take care of the snares that were laid for his life, and Pompey had thanked him for it. As to Paulus Emilius, he was Quæstor in Macedonia at the time that Vettius charged him with being in the plot to kill Pompey. Thus the Senate were easily convinced that the whole was a gross abuse: It was ordered that Vettius should be sent to prison, as guilty of bearing arms, according to his own confession; and a decree was added, that if any one should take him out of prison, the

A. R. 693. the Senate would look upon such an undertak-
 Ant. C. 59. ing as an attempt against the Commonwealth.

It was, without doubt, against Cæsar that the Senate took this precaution. But that Consul valued the authority of the Senate so little, that the next day he produced Vettius upon the tribunal of harangues, and thus placed that avowed villain in a seat from whence he had excluded, in his Prætorship, Q. Catulus the first citizen of Rome, and which it was not allowed his colleague to approach. Here the scene changed, and Vettius no longer named the same actors. He made no mention of Brutus, which plainly shewed that he had been dictated to in the night, what he was to say, and what he was to be silent in; and that Servilia, the mother of Brutus, whose union with Cæsar was of old date, and too well known, had drawn her son out of this scrape. Vettius named others, of whom he had not given the least suspicion when before the Senate, Lucullus, Q. Domitius, who was one of the most ardent enemies of Cæsar. He did not mention Cicero by name, but said that an eloquent man of consular dignity, and a neighbour of the Consul's, had told him, that there was need of a new * Servilius Ahala, or of another Brutus. This was not all, when the assembly was broke up, Vatinius, Tribune of the People, a worthy minister of Cæsar's injustice, called back Vettius, and asked him if he had forgot none of the accomplices? Vettius named Piso, the son-in-law of Cicero, and that M. Laterensis, of

* *Abala had killed Sp. Milius, who aspired at arbitrary power. See hereupon*

Vol. II. B. 5. An. R. 315. *Brutus, every body knows, drove away the Kings.*

whom

whom I spoke on account of the oath imposed by Cæsar on the candidates. A. R. 693.
Ant. C. 59.

These were not juridical acts. Vatinius undertook to set the affair right, by proposing to the People to order him to inform against those who had been impeached by Vettius; that the same Vettius should be admitted to depose against them at law, and that recompences should be ordered him, which this mercenary Tribune carried very far. But the imposture was too ill concerted, to bear the light of a judicial enquiry. Cæsar himself apprehended the consequences of so senseless a calumny. Suet. Cæs.
20.
Cic. in
Vatin. One morning Vettius was found strangled in the prison. This was the wages with which Cæsar * paid the service that this villain had done him. He would have thrown the suspicion of his death upon others; but no body was deceived, and history charges him with this murder, horrible in all its circumstances.

Cicero was not much afraid of the accusation with which he was menaced: but the blackness of the intrigue severely afflicted him. "I am
" (a) weary of life, said he to Atticus, in seeing it so full of miseries. No body in the
" world is more unhappy than myself, and no
" body more happy than Catulus, who could
" live with dignity, and die before he was witness to so many evils."

* Cicero makes Vatinius author of this murder, but that was only a politic caution with regard to Cæsar.

(a) Prorsus vitæ tædet; ita sunt omnia omnium mis-

riarum plenissima.—Nihil me infortunatius, nil fortunatius est Catulo, quam splendore vitæ, tum hoc tempore.

Cic. II. ad Att. 24.

A storm

A. R. 693.
Ant. C. 59.

*The danger
which
threatens
Cicero on
the part of
Clodius.
The beha-
viour of
Pompey
and Cæsar
with re-
gard to
Cicero at
this con-
juncture.*

A storm more outrageous was preparing against him. Clodius was appointed Tribune of the People, and prepared his batteries at length to satisfy his revenge against him; who, with too much sincerity, had put his life in danger. Cicero had for a long time foreseen this storm, and it had been very easy for him to have layed it, if he would have given himself up to the wills of the powerful. Cæsar and Pompey had made great advances to him, and strove by all manner of ways to attach him to them. He never could consent to it; but stedfast in his principles, all that he thought he could permit himself to do for his own safety, was not to provoke the Triumvirs to wrath by an open resistance. It was easy to see, notwithstanding all the caution he used, that he did not approve their conduct, and looked upon it as a real tyranny. The Triumvirs not being able to gain him by Caresses, tried afterwards to intimidate him, by making Clodius go over into the rank of a Plebeian. Cicero was sensible of the stroke, and covered himself still more in his silence on the public affairs, in his reserve, and in his precaution; but he gave no tokens of his approving the violent undertakings which manifestly tended to the oppression of liberty.

It seemed as if Pompey and Cæsar took their resolution, at this time, to send away from Rome, at any rate, a man who must hurt them, and whom they could not bring over to their interest. Pompey, deeply dissimbling, continued to load Cicero with caresses. He assured them that Clodius should give him no uneasiness, and boasted that he had not only exacted the word, but the oath of the

the

the new Tribune, on this occasion. Caesar acted more frankly. He offered Cicero either a free embassy (I have explained above what this was among the Romans) or the employment of Lieutenant-General about his person in Gaul. All this gave Cicero much trouble. He feared Clodius, and yet had an extreme repugnance to leave Rome. The promises of Pompey, which flattered his inclination, determined him to stay, supposing either that Clodius would not attack him, or that he should be supported by a more powerful protection. Atticus nevertheless exhorted him to distrust Pompey. Cicero continued obstinate to give credit to him, "He (a) is deceived by Clodius, answered he to him, but he does not deceive me. I can very easily put myself upon my guard against fraud, but not to believe it is out of my power."

A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 59.

Cic. ad
Att. II. 19.
& 20.

Ought we really to believe that Pompey deceived him, and that, by the grossest falsehoods, he laid a snare for him, to engage him to stay in the city, and by those means to procure his banishment? This is what cannot easily enter into my mind. Pompey told him the truth, but he did not tell him all. It was in concert with him, that Cæsar had made Cicero the offers I have spoken of. If in effect he had received a benefit from their hands, he must have become dependent upon them, and that was all they wanted. It seems astonishing to me, that Cicero, with all his understanding and penetration, did not discover the game that was playing by Pompey and Cæsar, whose strict

(a) Non me ille fallit, sed ut caveam; alterum, ut non ipse fallitur,—Alterum facio, credam, facere non possum.

A. R. 693.
Ant. C. 59.

*Clodius
binds
Bibulus
from har-
anguing
the People
at going
out of his
Consulship.
Dio.*

union he was so well acquainted with, and that he did not comprehend what was to be understood by all the obliging discourses that Pompey held with him.

He thought then only how to fortify himself, by more and more attaching to him all the good citizens that remained in Rome. He had merited their affection in his Consulship. Clodius hindered Bibulus from making an harangue to the People, and allowed him to speak only in taking the customary oath. It is not to be doubted, but Cæsar in this was in concert with the Tribune, and he crowned by this last stroke all the insults that he had offered his Colleague. Cæsar also went out of his employment, having, according to Cicero, confirmed (a) and solidly established in his Consulship that tyranny, of which he had formed the design, and laid the foundation while he was Ædile.

(a) Cæsarem in consulatu confirmasse regnum, de quo Ædilis cogitavit. *Suet. Cæs. c. 9.*

 BOOK THE THIRTY NINTH.

 T H E
 ROMAN HISTORY.

THE exile and re-establishment of Cicero. The Isle of Cyprus reduced to a Roman province. Some other facts of less importance. In the years of Rome 694 and 695.

S E C T. I.

Materials wanting to furnish a detail of the secret intrigues which brought about the exile of Cicero. Clodius supported by the two Consuls. Their characters. The Triumvirs favour Clodius. Clodius, to prepare the way to attack Cicero, proposes laws of different kinds : For the free distribution of corn : For the re-establishment of fraternities of artisans : For lessening the power of the Censors : For abolishing the laws called Ælia and Fufia. Cicero, deceived by Clodius, lets all these laws pass quietly. Clodius proposes a law which condemns to banishment any one who causes the death

death of a citizen without the form of process. Cicero puts on mourning. Reflections on this step. All the orders of the State interest themselves for Cicero. A law proposed by Clodius to assign governments to the Consuls. The Senate, by public deliberation, put on mourning with Cicero. Clodius arms all the mob of Rome. The rage of Gabinus. An ordinance of the Consuls, which enjoins the Senators to quit their mourning. Piso declares plainly to Cicero, that he does not pretend to defend him. Pompey abandons him. An assembly of the People, in which the Consuls explain themselves in a manner disadvantageous to the cause of Cicero. The double danger of Cicero, from Clodius, and from the Consuls and Cæsar. Hortensius and Cato advise Cicero to retire. He leaves Rome. Cæsar's dream. A law brought against Cicero by name. Observations on that law. It passes, and, at the same time, that concerning the departments of the Consuls. Cicero's goods sold, and his houses pillaged by the Consuls. Clodius seizes on the land belonging to Cicero's house, and consecrates a part of it to the goddess Liberty. Cicero, repulsed by the Prætor of Sicily, goes into Greece, and arrives at Dyrrachium. Plancius gives him an asylum at Thessalonica. The excessive grief of Cicero. His complaints against his friends. A justification of their conduct. Cicero's apology for the excess of his grief. The reflection of Plutarch on Cicero's weakness. Cato and Cæsar depart, one for the Island of Cyprus, and the other for Gaul. The claims pretended by the Romans to Egypt and the island of Cyprus. Clodius offended by Ptolomy King of Cyprus. The law

law of Clodius to reduce this island to a Roman province. The King of Cyprus has not the courage to throw his treasures into the sea. He puts an end to his life by poison. The great exactness of Cato in gathering together the riches of this King. The precautions he took in transporting them. His books of accounts lost. His return to Rome. Clodius cavils with him to no purpose. The *Ædileship* of Scaurus. The incredible pomp of the games he gave to the People. The games given by Curio.

L. CALPURNIUS PISO.

A.R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.

A. GABINIUS.

IT was under the Consulship of Piso and Gabinius that Cicero was banished. If we had the letters wrote by him to Atticus, in the time we are going to speak of, as we have those which immediately preceded it, we should be fully informed of all the intrigues and all the artifices that were made use of to destroy him. But Cicero, as soon as he found the danger grew serious, had pressed Atticus to come speedily to him. "If you love me," said he to him, as certainly you do love me, give me a proof of it by coming hither (a) with all the speed you are able. If you sleep, awake; if you are awake, walk; if you are walking, run; if you run, that is not enough, fly. You cannot think

(a) Si me amas tantum, quantum profecto amas, si dormis, expergiscere; si stas, ingredi; si ingrederis, curre; si curris, advola. Cre-

ditabile non est, quantum ego in consiliis & prudentia tua, quodque maximum est, quantum in amore & fide ponam. Cic. ad Att. II. 23.

A. R. 694. “ how much I depend upon your advice, upon your prudence, and what is the chief of all, upon your friendship for me.” Atticus, like a true friend, did not fail of complying with an instance so pressing : therefore Cicero no longer had any occasion to write to him, till he was obliged himself to leave Rome : and for the facts that we are to relate, we have scarce any assistance but from his orations, in which we are not to suppose, that he spoke with the same openness as in his letters to an intimate friend. They are nevertheless more useful, and furnish us with more lights than the Greek historians, who do not enter into that detail one could wish for, nor write with that exactness, that it is possible to have a perfect confidence in them.

Clodius supported by both the Consuls.

Clodius found himself in the most favourable situation to oppress Cicero. He had both the Consuls on his side ; and this year falsified the observation of Catulus, who said, that the Commonwealth had rarely one wicked Consul ; and, if the time of Cinna's tyranny was excepted, it never had happened that they were both wicked at once. Catulus encouraged Cicero by this observation, in promising him, that he would always find one of the Consuls, at least, ready to defend him.

Their Characters.

It is true, if one of the Consuls had any sentiments worthy his place, he could not have failed of supporting Cicero's cause, which was that of the Consular power and of the Senate ; for the pretence that they made use of to attack him, was the death of Lentulus and his accomplices. Now Cicero had done nothing against these villains but as Consul, and by virtue of a Senatusconsultum. And all the orders of

Cic. post sed in Sen.
de Har.
Resp. pro Domo.
Sext. in Pis. & Ali.
bi.
Plut. Cic.
Dio. L.
xxxviii.

of the State, declaring loudly for Cicero, in the danger he was, if there had been a Consul at their head, Clodius could never have succeeded in his unjust and criminal undertaking. But although I do not pretend fully to adopt the invectives of Cicero against Piso and Gabinius, in which it cannot be denied but passion transported him too far; the facts speak, and it is certain, that in the supreme magistracy of Rome, there had rarely been seen a couple so mischievous and devoted to iniquity.

Gabinius, the old friend of Catiline, was a professed debauchee; one of those men who had lost all shame and triumphed in vice; a vile flatterer of Pompey, to whose enormous credit he was wholly indebted for his elevation.

Piso bore a name, which seemed to be consecrated to virtue, and he affected the outward shew of it, an air of severity, manners serious and melancholly, which seemed too austere; a great remoteness from luxury, and a taste of simplicity in his equipage, in his cloaths, and especially in his person. By this he had not only imposed on the public, but on Cicero himself, who had the more easily hoped to have found a friend in him, as his son-in-law was of the same family, and bore the same name with this Consul. But Piso was nothing less than what he seemed to be. He was a real epicurean, not only in speculation but in practice. Cicero reproached him with manners altogether corrupted. It is not upon this that I insist; but principally observe, that Piso praised and followed those maxims of Epicurus, which tend to the destruction of all society: That a wise man thinks only of himself,

A. R. 694. and what regards his own interest : That a sensible one ought not to fatigue himself with the cares and embarrassments of public affairs : That nothing is more excellent than a life of idleness, and made up of pleasures. And that, on the contrary, it was madness, and a kind of fanaticism to think, that we ought to respect the laws of honour, procure the public good, consult one's duty, in the conduct of life, more than one's profit ; and lastly, to expose one's self to dangers, to wounds, and even to death, for the good of one's country. Piso, spoiled by these principles so pernicious, especially in a sovereign magistrate, and Gabinius led to the same end by mere instinct, and the corruption of a bad heart, easily united with Clodius, and for the sake of good governments in the provinces, which were promised them by this Tribune, they both shewed themselves ready to second his outrages.

*The Trium-
virs fa-
vour Clo-
dius.*

The Triumvirate gave the finishing stroke to render the enterprizes of Clodius infallible ; if not in acting with him, at least in keeping themselves as a good body of reserve. Crassus had always hated Cicero, and he did the like by him. Cæsar was piqued at his obstinacy in refusing all his offers, and especially as he did not doubt but the defenders of the Aristocracy, at the first ray of liberty, would use their utmost efforts to overthrow all the work of his Consulship, he was willing to take from them two men, who might be looked upon as the pillars of that party, Cicero and Cato. It was for this reason, that Clodius gave Cato, as I shall shew hereafter, an employment that obliged him to leave Italy. As to Cicero, Cæsar was disposed to favour him, if he could have made him resolve to

to quit Rome : upon his refusal, he gave him-^{A. R. 694.} self up to the revēge that Clodius prepared.^{Ant. C. 53.} And had this work so much at heart, that being gone out of the city, in quality of Proconsul, and not having the liberty to re-enter it, he kept himself in the suburbs, to take measures as things might fall out, and having his troops ready in case there should be occasion for them. Pompey could not separate himself from Crassus and Cæsar. He nevertheless observed a little more decorum. But if he did not positively contribute to oppress Cicero, at least it is certain that he abandoned him.

Notwithstanding so many united forces, the^{Clodius, to} cause of Cicero was so good, and all honest^{prepare the} men taking his part, the Senate and the order^{way to at-} of Knights, forming so powerful a party for^{tack Cice-} him, his enemies were forced to use great pre-^{ro, proposes} caution before they dared venture to attack^{different} him. On the 3d day of January, Clodius be-^{laws.} gan to prepare his batteries, and to propose dif-^{Cic. in Pis.} ferent laws, either to gain the favour of all sorts^{n. 9. &} of People, or to remove the obstacles by which^{ibid. Af-} it might be undertaken to stop him.^{con.}

One of these laws had regard to the distribution of corn, which was to be allowed to Citizens at a very low price. C. Gracchus,^{For the} the author of this Largess, was willing that^{free distri-} corn should be given at half an As, and the^{bution of} third part of an As, which is about six-pence^{corn.} of our money, the bushel. So low a price was certainly no charge even to the poorest. The law of Clodius quite freed the citizens, and ordered that the distribution of corn should be perfectly gratuitous. This was a considerable^{Cic. pro} matter to the Commonwealth, if it is true, as^{Sext. n. 55.} Cicero says, that by this retrenchment, the

A. R. 694. found herself impoverished of almost one fifth
Ant. C. 58. part of her revenues.

For re-establishing fraternities of artisans. A second law re-established or instituted a sort of fraternities of Artisans. The custom had been ancient in Rome, since mention is made of it in the laws of the XII tables, and we find one of Merchants established a few years after the expulsion of the Tarquins; and even the institution by going back to the reign of Numa. Nevertheless these fraternities composed of mean People, who assembled together, kept holidays, and assisted at games, appeared to the Senate so dangerous in their consequences to the public tranquility, that after having subsisted for many ages, they had been all suppressed within about nine years. Clodius was not satisfied with reviving the antient fraternities; but he created new ones, which he formed out of the vilest of the mob. These were troops always ready at his command, and capable of executing under him the greatest violences.

For lessening the power of the Censors. His third law enervated and almost destroyed the authority of the Censorship, and thereby became extremely agreeable to a very great number of citizens, and especially of Senators, whose irregular conduct had given them reason to fear a severe magistracy, who threatened to reduce them to their duty, or disgrace them if they failed in it. Clodius delivered them from this fear, by ordering that the censors should not degrade a Senator, nor take notice of a citizen, who was not first accused in form before them; whereas before, the censors, when they were agreed, might, by their office, degrade those whose manners seemed reprehensible

ble to them, without waiting to be urged to it A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.
by the ministry of an accuser.

By these laws Clodius made himself friends For abo-
and partizans; but he knew that among his lising the
colleagues and in the college of Prætors, there laws called
were men whom he could not hope to gain: Ælia and
Fufia.

he feared many obstacles from them, and particularly from what was drawn from the Auspices. It is known what the superstition of the Romans was with respect to presages, and especially to those signs which they imagined came from Heaven. This was the most powerful resource of the Senators policy, to prevent the seditious enterprizes of those who sought to flatter the People. Thus the laws Ælia and Fufia, which positively declared all void, that should be done in contempt of the Auspices, are called, by Cicero, in a thousand places, the strongest ramparts of the peace and tranquility of the State. A magistrate who took upon him to consult the Auspices, if he signified it to his colleague, or to a Tribune of the People, who had sent them out to give their suffrages, all was stopped in a moment, and it was not allowed to proceed any farther that day. Bibulus had often employed this method, with regard to Cæsar, who carrying every thing with a high hand, despised the significations of his colleague, and pushed on his purposes to the end. Clodius was willing at once to get rid of this check, by having it decreed by the People, that it should not be allowed for any magistrate to consult the Auspices while the Tribune should be employed in debate. This same law of Clodius also abolished the distinction of days, on which the assemblies of the People should, or should not be held, a dis-

A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.

tion made use of from all antiquity to bridle popular licentiousness. Clodius ordained, on the contrary, that all the days marked in the kalendar as days of audience of the Prætor, should be equally free to propose laws and to debate upon them.

*Cicero de-
ceived by
Clodius lets
all these
laws pass
quietly.*

There needed not all the penetration of Cicero, to comprehend that these laws were machines directed against him, and which prepared the way for the assaults that were proposed to be given to him. Therefore Cicero resolved at first to act with vigour to hinder their passing. The greatest part of the Tribunes meant him well; but especially Q. Mummius * Quadratus, the most faithful and the most courageous friend that Cicero had among the magistrates of this year, resolved to oppose the laws of Clodius in form. This last had recourse to burning. He pretended that he had no ill design against Cicero. He changed his style with regard to him: used no more menaces, no more invectives; but threw upon Terentia the cause of their enmity: at length he solemnly promised to undertake nothing against Cicero, if he would bring no obstacle to his laws. I cannot conceive, nor explain the facility with which Cicero and above all, Atticus came into so gross a snare. The fact is, that Cicero, by the advice of his friend, consented to remain quiet; Mummius made no opposition, and the laws passed.

*Clodius
proposes a
law which
condemns*

Clodius then took off the mask, and proposed a new law, which pronounced the pain

* The best editions of Cicero vary in this name. I find him called sometimes

MUMMIUS, sometimes NINIUS. Of the two, I have chose the name the most known.

of banishment against any one who should cause, or had already caused, the death of a citizen without the form of process; and that this law might meet with the less difficulty, he joined to it, or perhaps preceded it by a prohibition to the Tribunes to use the right of opposition to it. This restriction given to the right of the Tribunes was not without example, for C. Gracchus had made use of it in a case favourable to the Senate, by decreeing to that assembly the sovereign decision of the Consuls jurisdiction without the Tribunes being allowed to offer any obstacle to it.

Cicero was not named in the law of Clodius. Nevertheless, as soon as it was proposed he put on mourning, and began to supplicate the People in the same manner as if he had been accused by name. He reproached himself afterwards for taking this step as a fault; and pretended, that he ought to have looked upon that law as nothing, or to have commended it. I confess I cannot conceive without difficulty how he could commend a law which was the foundation of the criminal business that was stirred up against him, at least that he did not maintain, that a citizen condemned to death by the Senate on account of a conspiracy against the Commonwealth, was judged in form, although it was contrary to the common law; for by that the People alone assembled in their comitia by centuries, could judge of the crime of high-treason.

Dio shews this affair with another face; and supposing, which was true, the death of Lentulus was pointed at by the terms of the law, he observes that this law attacked the Senate in a body, who, on account of Catiline's conspiracy,

A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.

to banish-

ment any

one who

causes the

death of

a citizen

without

the form of

process.

Cicero puts

on mourn-

ing, reflec-

tions on

this step.

Cic. ad

Att. III.

15.

A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.

racy, had given an unlimited power to the Consuls, and who passed the decree, by virtue of which Lentulus and his accomplices were strangled in prison. According to this idea, the fault of Cicero was making that his own cause, which was the cause of the Senate.

In truth, all this to me does not seem to touch the point in question. The reflection of Cicero is that of a man who was dejected and overwhelmed by misfortunes, and who consequently blames all that's passed, because success did not attend it. The observation of Dio would be right, if Cicero, in making the application of the law, had cooled the zeal of the Senate with regard to him : but that body having espoused his quarrel with all the force imaginable, I ask here what wrong Cicero did himself. One only way was left open to him to prevent the ill with which he was threatened, and that was to have gained the favour of the Triumvirs, by accepting of the Lieutenant-Generalship that Cæsar had offered him. Having once refused that, it was impossible for him to avoid banishment.

All the orders of the State interest themselves for Cicero.

Cicero, on the other hand, had all the help, and all the support he could hope for. When he put on mourning, almost all the Knights did the same ; and twenty thousand young men, the flower of the Roman Nobility, having the son of Crassus at their head, accompanied Cicero every where, soliciting the People in his favour. This young Crassus had a great deal of merit, and the love of virtue and of letters inspired him with a warm affection for Cicero. All the different orders of the Commonwealth ; all the towns of Italy testified their uneasiness and their alarms upon the dangers of this one man.

man. The Senate especially interested themselves briskly in a cause which was their own; they fled to the Consuls, solicited them, and charged them to take upon them the defence of Cicero, as they were obliged to, by the duty of their place.

But what hope could there be, that Consuls sold to the Tribune would resolve to act in any thing against him? At the same time that *A law* Clodius had proposed his law to destroy Cicero, he had proposed another for assigning to *proposed by Clodius to assign governments to the Consuls.* the Consuls large and important governments; to Piso, that of Macedonia; to Gabinius, that of Cilicia. Thus the plot was not only manifested, but the wages paid, that these unworthy Magistrates had bargained for, to deliver his victim to the Tribune.

Nevertheless, Gabinius coming into the Senate (for Piso, on account of an indisposition, *The Senate, by public deliberation, put on mourning with Cicero.* either real or feigned, was not there) all the assembly, with tears in their eyes, conjured the Consul present to undertake so just a cause; to enter into deliberation on the affair of Cicero; and proposed, according to the general consent of all the Senators, that they should put on mourning with him. The Knights also sent a deputation to Gabinius, tending to the same purpose, at the head of which were the two illustrious Consulars, Hortensius and Curio. The Consul repulsed with disdain the intreaties of so many great personages, who threw themselves at his feet. The Tribune Mummius then, according to the duty of his office, entered into debate upon what the Consul had refused to propose; and a decree was made, declaring that all the Senators should put on mourning,

A. R. 694. mourning, as in the time of a public calamity.
Ant. C. 58.

Cicero had reason to think himself honoured by such a deliberation. (a) "O day, cried he, fatal to the Senate, and to all good men. Fatal to the Commonwealth: but, at the same time, glorious for me to all posterity, that such men should grieve for me the moment my misfortunes were made known! What man was ever so honoured? All good men of their own accord, all the Senators by public deliberation put on mourning, in favour of one citizen; and that with the only view of shewing their grief, and not, according to custom, to make their prayers more moving. For who could they pray to, since all are in tears; and it is a mark sufficient to shew a man to be a bad citizen, not to have put on mourning?"

*Clodius
arms all
the mob of
Rome.
Pro Sext.
n. 34.*

Clodius was in a rage, to see the endeavours that were used to snatch out of his hands the man that he would have proscribed. He had before taken the precaution to encompass himself about with armed men, and had enlisted all the mob of Rome, and the dregs of the slaves, under the pretext of the fraternities that came to be renewed by his law. He had

(a) O diem illum, judices, funestum Senatui bonisque omnibus, Reipublicæ luctuosum, mihi ad domesticum mærorem gravem, ad posteritatis memoriam gloriosum! Quid enim quisquam potest ex omni memoriâ sumere illustrius, quam pro uno cive & bonos omnes privato consensu, & universum Se-

natum publico consilio mutasse vestem! Quæ quidem tum mutatio non deprecationis causâ est facta, sed luctûs. Quem enim deprecarentur, quum omnes essent, sordidati, quumque hoc satis esset signi, esse improbum, qui mutatâ veste non esset? *Cic. pro Sext. n. 27.*

already

already made use of this guard, so worthy of him, to insult Cicero, to cover him with mud, and do him a thousand injuries, whilst this respectable suppliant went through the Forum and the City, imploring the protection of the citizens. He had filled the temple of Castor with arms and with armed men, and by taking away the stairs, he had made it, as it were, a citadel, that commanded the Forum, and made him absolute master of all that passed in it. Then, having about him one part of his guards, and the other in the Temple, which served him for a fortress, he cited the Deputies of the order of the Knights, who had presented themselves to the Consul, to appear before the People, and instead of suffering them to lay open their reasons, he delivered them up to the outrages, and blows of that vile heap of people that he had gathered about him. Hortensius expected to have been killed by these madmen. Another Senator, named Vibienus, was so ill used by them, that he died in a short time after.

Gabinus no longer kept any measures. He went in a passion out of the assembly of the Senate, of which I have been speaking, and having convoked that of the People, he spoke to them, says Cicero, in such a manner, as Catiline durst not when he was conqueror. He said, " he pitied the error of those who " thought that the Senate was still any thing " in the Commonwealth. As to what regarded the Roman Knights, he was going to make them suffer for the support they had lent Cicero in his Consulship. That the time was come, when those who were then afraid (he meant the Conspirators) should

" revenge

A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.

Pro Mil.
n. 37

The fury of
Gabinus.

Post red.

in Sen.

n. 12.

Pro Sext.

n. 28.

A. R. 694. "revenge themselves on their enemies." Such
 Ant. C. 58. language was certainly very surprizing in the
 mouth of a Consul, and shewed that Gabinius
 did not even go about to disguise his criminal
 designs under any favourable colours. His
 actions were conformable to his language;
 and he immediately upon the spot, in an un-
 exampled and unheard-of manner, banished
 two hundred miles from Rome, an illustrious
 Roman Knight, named L. Lamia, who had
 distinguished himself by his zeal in the cause
 of Cicero.

*An ordi-
 nance of the
 Consuls,
 which en-
 joins the
 Senators to
 quit their
 mourning.*

A little while after an ordinance of the Con-
 suls appeared, which enjoined the Senators to
 quit their mourning, and take again the habit
 of their condition. Tyrannical ordinance!
 which (a) suffered the cause of their grief to
 subsist, and forbade the marks of it; and which
 would stop tears by threats, and not by offer-
 ing motives of consolation.

*Piso de-
 clares
 plainly to
 Cicero, that
 he does not
 pretend to
 defend him.
 In Pis.
 n. 12.*

Piso plainly shewed by this step, that he
 had a good understanding with Gabinius. He
 fairly declared it to Cicero, about this time, in
 a visit he made him, accompanied by his son-
 in-law C. Piso. "Gabinius, said the Consul
 to Cicero, is drove to extremes, he cannot
 support himself but by the government of
 a province. The Senate will not give him
 one; he expects it from the Tribune. For
 my part, I have respect for my Collegue,
 as you had for yours in your Consulship.
 Do not look for any support from the Con-
 suls. Every one here is for himself."

(a) Quis hoc fecit allâ in
 Scythiâ tyrannus, ut eos quos
 luctu afficeret, lugere non
 sineret? Mœrorem relinquis,

mœoris aufers insignia. Eri-
 pis lacrymas non consolando,
 sed minando. Cic. in Pis.
 n. 18.

There

There remained Pompey, in whom Cicero ^{A. R. 694.} had always had much confidence, and who ^{Ant. C. 58.} might really have saved him, if he had had as ^{Pompey a-} much good will as power. But Clodius said ^{bandous} him.

aloud, and repeated it in all his harangues, that the three most powerful citizens, Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompey, were in agreement with him, and resolved to support him. Pompey said nothing; but by so expressive a silence in such circumstances, sufficiently authorized what had been said by the Tribune. The enemies of Cicero being willing to furnish Pompey with a pretext to estrange himself from his friendship, contrived ambushes, and designed attempts upon his life, and loaded with these suspicions a man of a character as far from such black designs, as he was incapable of thinking of them at a time when his own dangers and his own fears employed him but too much. Nevertheless Pompey, either to add credit to these reports, or to avoid solicitations, or through shame, had quitted Rome, and kept himself in the country in a house that he had near Alba.

Cicero could not resolve with himself to renounce the hopes he had in the succour of Pompey, without making the last trial of it. He sent his son-in-law, he went himself to Alba. Plutarch assures us, that Pompey blushing to see the man whom he had not blushed to betray, no sooner was told that Cicero was coming into his house at one door but he privately stole out at another; and this behaviour sufficiently convinces us of the justness of the character that Sallust gives of him; that (a) he

(a) *Oris probi, animo inverecundo. Sall. ap. Sueton. de Grammat. c. 15.*

A. R. 694. had more modesty in his countenance than in
 Ant. C. 58. his heart. It is however certain, that Cicero
 got to the sight of him, if not precisely at this
 time, at some other. He even threw himself
 at his feet, and Pompey had the cruelty not to
 raise him up; but told him, that he could do
 nothing contrary to the will of Cæsar.

In Pis.
 77, 78.

Four of the chiefs of the Senate, L. Len-
 tulus, actually Prætor, Q. Fabius Sanga, and
 two Consulars, L. Torquatus, and M. Lucul-
 lus, brother of the conqueror of Mithridates,
 were willing to make one more effort. Pom-
 pey, in treating with them, made use of all
 his dissimulation, and shewed himself, accord-
 ing to his custom, willing to save appearances,
 although he counted the reality of his duty as
 nothing. He sent them back to the Consuls,
 telling them, " that it belonged to the Sove-
 " reign Magistrates to undertake the cause of
 " the Commonwealth, and propose the affair
 " to the Senate. That for himself, without
 " public deliberation, he would not combat
 " with a Tribune that was armed. That as
 " soon as he found himself authorized by a
 " Senatusconsultum he would take up arms."

This was a manifest collusion, for Pompey
 was not ignorant of the sentiments of the Con-
 suls. Gabinius answered the four Senators in
 a very rough and disobliging manner. Piso
 chose a more moderate style, but which meant
 the same thing at bottom. He said, " that
 " he did not pique himself upon having so
 " much courage as Cicero, and * Torquatus,

* Under the Consulship of *tiline, of which I have spoke*
Torquatus there had been one in its place.
of the first conspiracies of Ca-

" who

“ who spoke to him, had in their Consulships. A. R. 694-
Ant. C. 58.
 “ That there was no need of having recourse
 “ to arms, nor of fighting. That Cicero
 “ might save his country a second time by re-
 “ tiring. That if he went about to resist, the
 “ slaughter once began would find no bounds.
 “ That, in a word, neither himself, nor Cæ-
 “ sar his son-in-law, nor Gabinius his Colleague,
 “ would abandon the Tribune.”

This declaration was plain and positive, but it was made in private. Soon after both the Consuls and Cæsar had an occasion to explain themselves publicly: For Clodius, to shew his friends and his adversaries, at the same time, how powerfully he was supported, directed an assembly of the People to be held An assembly of the People wherein out of the city, that Cæsar might assist at it. the Consuls There he produced the Consuls, who both dis- and Cæsar approved of the punishment of Lentulus, explain themselves which Piso even dared to tax with cruelty. in a man- ner disad- Cæsar, with that air of moderation and benig- wantageous nity which he always preserved, nevertheless, to the without ever quitting his purposes, said, “ that cause of “ what he thought with respect to Lentulus Cicero. “ and others involved in the same cause, was “ well enough known. That if he had been “ minded they had not been put to death. “ That nevertheless he was not of opinion “ that any enquiry should be made into what “ was passed, and that it would be better to “ bury all in oblivion.”

Cicero had now only two ways to take, ei- The double ther to retire or to fight. His forces were not danger of inconsiderable. All that was virtuous in the Cicero, city, every citizen that preserved any respect from Clo- for the good of the Commonwealth, for the dus, and laws and for liberty, were ready to take up from the arms Consuls and Cæsar.

A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.

Cic. pro
Sent. n.
43.

arms in his favour. And it is not to be doubted, but that, seeing himself so well supported, he would have determined to have made a courageous resistance, if it had not been for that vile mob, that was under the command of Clodius, composed of rogues taken out of dungeons, slaves, and the miserable remains of Catiline's troops. He knew also, that one battle, although he should have the superiority, would not be decisive. Clodius had said in full assembly: *That Cicero must perish at once, or be twice a conqueror.* This saying had nothing dark in it, but meant if the Tribune was killed in the battle, the Consuls and Cæsar, whose Legions were not far off, would revenge his death. This second danger greater without any comparison than the first, and of which the consequences might be fatal, not only to Cicero, but to the whole Commonwealth, deserved the strictest attention.

*Hortensius
and Cato
advise Ci-
cero to re-
tire.*

The friends of Cicero were divided in their opinions. M. Lucullus (a) would have had force opposed to force, whatever might be the event. Hortensius and Cato, who was not yet departed for the isle of Cyprus, whither Clodius had sent him, were afraid, if once swords were drawn in this quarrel, that it might become a general civil war. They represented to Cicero, that his absence could not be for a long continuance; that Clodius, by

* Plutarch names Lucullus simply without his prenom. But the great Lucullus who died had a short time after, was then very likely in so weak a condition that he was incapable of public affairs.

For this reason I have ascribed what Plutarch says to his brother, M. Lucullus, who interested himself in favour of Cicero with Pompey and the Consuls.

his

his fury, would soon tire his own friends; A. R. 694. Ant. C. 31. and that the whole Commonwealth, with one consent, would call for their Deliverer home again. This resolution was the most reasonable, and the most generous for him to take: And it was not without reason that Cicero gloried in having (a) twice saved his country; the first time with a great and splendid success, and the second at the expence of the most cruel disgrace. Happy, if he could have maintained this glory by constancy in his exile; and if, on the contrary, the little steadfastness he shewed in his misfortunes, had not given room to believe, that fear had a great share in the resolution he took to yield to his enemies!

He went out of Rome in the night, having He goes out first carried a Minerva to the Capitol, which he of Rome. seemed till then to have revered in his house as his tutelar divinity, and which he consecrated in this august temple by the title of the *Guardian of the City*. His thoughts, without doubt, was, that the City of Rome had lost her guardian in losing him; and that he was forced, after having tried all the resources that human prudence could suggest, to leave the gods themselves for her guardians. It was now the beginning of April, and he Cic. ad soon got to the coasts of Lucania, preparing Att. III. to pass into Sicily, where he expected to have found both affection from the people, and protection from the Prætor, C. Virgilius, a man of a mild disposition, and who, in former times, had always shewed himself attached to the best party.

(a) Unus rempublicam bis servavi, semel gloriâ iterum erumpam meâ. Cic. pro Sext. 49.

A. R. 664.

Ant. C. 58.

*A dream of**Cicero's.*

Cic.

Divin.

L. J. n. 59.

& L. II.

n. 140,

143.

I know not whether I ought to speak of a dream that he had, when got not far from Rome. What determined me to do it, was, that the judgment that he himself made of it, may serve for a rule to those, who are sometimes too much struck with the relation that their dreams have to real events. He fancied he was wandering in some solitary place, when he saw Marius coming to him, preceded by his Lictors, whose fasces were crowned with branches of lawrel. It seemed to him that Marius asked him the cause of his sorrow, and that having learned from him, that he was drove out of his country he took him by the hand, and exhorted him to be of good courage, and giving his first Lictor charge of him, ordered him to conduct him into the temple, that he had built and consecrated to honour and virtue, telling Cicero that from that place should come his safety. This dream was verified by the return of our illustrious fugitive, as all the world knows, and that nothing may be wanting to the entire and perfect accomplishment of it, it was in this temple, built by Marius, that one of the most famous Senatusconsultums passed in the affair of re-establishing Cicero. This last circumstance was the wonderful part of his dream, that made him remember it: for as to the rest, he thought so often of Marius, and compared his present fortune so readily with that of his famous countryman, formerly proscribed and banished, and who afterwards returned with honours into Italy, that it is not surprizing that these ideas should arise in his sleep. That the Senate would undertake his re-establishment was also a hope that constantly ran in his mind. As to the conformity of the

the event with his dream, with regard to the place of the *Senatusconsultum*, Cicero attributed that purely to chance. But as it was the usual custom of the Senate to assemble in different temples of the city, may it not be supposed that the remembrance of Marius, pointed out to them the temple he had built, sooner than any other?

As soon as Clodius was informed of the retreat of Cicero, he caused him to be condemned to banishment by name, by a law which was proposed soon after in these terms: Do you will, and order, ROMANS, THAT M. TULLIUS CICERO, FOR HAVING CAUSED THE DEATH OF ROMAN CITIZENS WITHOUT ANY FORM OF PROCESS; FOR HAVING PUT A FALSE *SENATUS CONSULTUM* IN THE PUBLIC REGISTERS, HAS * BEEN DEPRIVED OF THE USE OF WATER AND FIRE: THAT ALL MEN SHOULD BE FORBID TO RECEIVE HIM, OR GIVE HIM ANY AZYLUM WITHIN THE DISTANCE OF FIVE HUNDRED MILES OF ROME, AND THAT IF HE SHOULD BE FOUND WITHIN THAT SPACE IT MAY BE ALLOWED TO KILL HIM, AND THOSE WHO SHALL HAVE RECEIVED HIM INTO THEIR HOUSES: THAT MOREOVER EVERY MAGISTRATE AND EVERY SENATOR SHOULD BE FORBID FOR EVER TO PROPOSE OR FAVOUR HIS BEING RECALLED, TO DELIBERATE, TO CONCLUDE, OR GIVE JUDGMENT IN ANY MANNER WHATSOEVER TO ANY THING THAT TENDS TO THAT END: IN A WORD, TO HAVE ANY PART IN ANY DECREE THAT MAY BE DESIGNED TO PERMIT HIM TO COME BACK AGAIN TO THIS CITY? The same law also

A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.

A law
brought
against
Cicero by
name.

* Ut interdictum sit.

A. R. 694. set a fine upon Cicero, or ordered the confiscation of his goods.
Ant. C. 58.

Observations on that law.

This law was drawn up with all possible malice, as we see, but, on the other hand, very unskilfully. The very expression was not correct. It was said that Cicero *had been deprived*, and not *that they should deprive him*, ut

Cic. pro Domo n. 47.

INTERDICTUM SIT, NON UT INTERDICATUR of the use of water and fire. This was to suppose a preceding judgment, and there had not been any. This fault in the expression, which though no great matter in itself, yet shews the temerity and inconsiderateness of Clodius, who had not even taken care to employ clerks and secretaries who were acquainted with the style of public acts. Cicero reproached him with it. *You forbid*, said he to him, *that any one should receive me, and had not ordered that I should go away.*

The imputation of having framed the Senatusconsultum that condemned Lentulus and his accomplices to death, was so evident a calumny and so insupportable, that that article alone was sufficient to afford means to come with advantage against that law that contained it. It was easy to see that the intention of Clodius was to deprive his enemies of that support which he found in the authority of the Senate, and to make him the sole author of the death of several citizens of the first rank. But passion blinded him, for in establishing his law upon a false declaration, he built up a ruinous edifice, which destroyed itself. “ If I have inserted a false
“ Senatusconsultum in the public registers,
“ says Cicero, the law has reason in it; if
“ not, it is null to all intents. Now, by how
“ many posterior decrees have the Senate ac-
“ know-

"knowned and confirmed that which they ^{A. R. 694.}
 "would have passed for my work?" ^{Ant. C. 58.}

This law was nevertheless authorized by the ^{It passes,}
 Suffrages, I will not say of the People, but of ^{and at the}
 a multitude of wretches who were in the Tri- ^{same time}
 bune's pay. Cicero being retired, his defenders ^{that con-}
 had no longer any interest that obliged them ^{cerning the}
 to fight. The law passed without opposition; ^{depart-}
 only it was amended, I know not why, with ^{ments of}
 respect to the distance, which was reduced to ^{the Con-}
 four hundred miles instead of five hundred; a ^{suls.}
 hundred and thirty-three leagues, instead of a
 hundred and sixty-six.

The recompences of the Consuls went on in
 the same pace with the disgraces of Cicero.
 The law for giving them Governments had
 been proposed at the same time with that which
 was the foundation of the criminal process in-
 tended against him, and it was received the
 same day with that, which condemned him to
 banishment. Gabinius himself made an altera-
 tion in it to his own advantage; and instead
 of Cilicia, caused Syria to be given him, a
 richer Province, and which opened to him a
 fairer field to fortune, and, as he imagined, to
 glory.

The misfortunes of Cicero were enough to ^{Cicero's}
 have satisfied an ordinary hatred. But that of ^{goods sold,}
 Clodius was furious and extended itself to the ^{and his}
 town and country houses of him, whom he had ^{houses}
 just proscribed. Whether the goods of Cicero ^{pillaged by}
 were confiscated, or they were to answer for ^{the Con-}
 the payment of the fine that was set upon him, ^{suls.}
 it is certain they were put up to public sale; but
 not one Gentleman offered himself to purchase
 any part of them. They were only the crea-
 tures of Clodius that would take any advan-

A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.
Cic. pro
Domo.

age of this unworthy booty. The Consuls did not forget themselves. Immediately after the departure of Cicero, and before the last law had been carried against him, they had set fire to his house in Rome, which they plundered at the same time, and the marble columns, with other ornaments, were carried to the house of Piso's mother-in-law, which was in the neighbourhood. Gabinius took to himself the spoils of that which Cicero had in the territories of Tusculum. He caused it to be destroyed, and as he had one himself in the same canton, he not only seized on the moveables in Cicero's, and on every thing that was necessary for country business, but had even the trees in his park rooted up, and transplanted to his own.

*Clodius
seizes on
the land
belonging
to Cicero's
house and
consecrates
a part of
it to the
Goddess
Liberty.
Vell. II.
14.*

It is very right, that Clodius should thus gather the fruits of a crime of which he was the principal author. The land belonging to Cicero's house in Rome was an object that piqued his covetousness. This house was large and spacious, and had been built fifty or sixty years before by the famous Tribune M. Drusus, to whom was attributed the cause of the social war. It was situated on the mount Palatine, facing the Forum, and in the neighbourhood of Clodius. This Tribune resolved to aggrandize himself, by adding to his own house the seat of his enemy. But that he might satisfy his revenge at the same time, see what his ingenious malice contrived. The house of Cicero, on one side, touched a Portico, built where had formerly been a house belonging to M. Fulvius, killed with C. Gracchus. This house having been rased as that of a public enemy, Catulus, the conqueror of the Cimbri, had built the Portico I am speaking of, as a monument

monument of his victory. Clodius reserving nine tenths of Cicero's land to himself, joined a parcel of it to the colonade of Catulus, that he might confound the cause of Cicero with that of Fulvius by a partnership in the same punishment. This was not all. To hinder the proprietor from ever being able to enter upon his own estate again, he consecrated this Portico, by a solemn dedication, in which the Pontiff Pinarius Natta lent his administration, and placed there a statue under the name of the Goddess of Liberty, as if he had been the avenger of public liberty oppressed by Cicero. This statue originally represented a Curtezan of the city of Tanagra in Bæotia: such was the object that Clodius, as little scrupulous in matters of religion as morality, proposed for the worship of the People.

Whilst Clodius triumphed, Cicero sought an Azylum, and had difficulty to find one. Being arrived near the city of Vibo in Lucania, he passed some days in the lands of a man called Sica, and who had an employment under him during the time of his being Consul. His scheme was, as I have already said, to go into Sicily. But the Prætor, C. Virgilius, who had antient obligations to him, who had been more than once the Colleague of his brother, and who thought as he did upon the affairs of the Commonwealth, nevertheless refuses to receive him into his province. So few friends do the unfortunate find! Cicero excluded from the hope of a safe and tranquil retreat in Sicily, and not being willing, by a longer continuance, to bring his host Sica into danger, turned towards the upper sea, and went by land to the road leading from Vibo to Brundisium. He did

A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.

*Cicero re-
pulsed by
the Prætor
of Sicily,
passes into
Greece and
comes to
Dyrrac-
hium.
Cic. pro
Planc. &
Ep. ad
Fam. L.
XIV. &
ad Att. III.*

A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.

did not enter into that city, but kept himself concealed in the country-house of M. Lenius Flaccus, a generous man and a faithful friend, who despised the danger to which he exposed both his fortune and his life by entertaining a person that was proscribed: and who, without being intimidated by the punishment pronounced by an unjust and criminal law, rendered to Cicero, for thirteen days together, all the offices of a noble and courageous hospitality.

It would have been a great satisfaction to our fugitive to have had the company of Atticus; he desired him to come thither to him, and he reckoned upon going with him into Epirus, where this friend had a large estate. It was a thing impossible; and Cicero looked upon this disappointment as another misfortune joined to those with which he was already loaded. However, Atticus was not useless to him at Rome, but rendered him effectual services, and better worth than the consolation he might have given him by his presence. Cicero was therefore obliged to embark at Brundisium by himself, which he did on the last day of April, and went to * Dyrrachium, a City, which had been under his protection, and which preserved an affection for him.

* Durazzo in Albania.

Plancius gives him an Asylum at Thessalonica.

Atticus had invited him to retire into his estate in Epirus. But a residence there did not please Cicero, especially on account of the neighbourhood of a great number of the ancient friends of Catiline, who, since the defeat of their party, being forced to quit Italy, had dispersed themselves in Achaia, and the rest of Greece. Above all, he feared Autronius, one of the most audacious and most powerful of these exiles. He was the Collegue of P. Sylla,

P. Sylla, named with him for the Consulship, and deprived with him of that employment by a solemn judgment for canvassing, and who afterwards entered into both the conspiracies of Catiline. Cicero therefore not thinking it safe for him to remain in Greece, designed to have crossed Macedonia, and have gone by sea to Cyzica in the Propontida; but the zeal of one friend hindered him from going so far out of Italy.

This friend was Cn. Plancius, actually Quæstor under Q. Apuleius Prætor of Macedonia. Plancius was no sooner informed of the arrival of Cicero at Dyrrachium, but he ran thither, without Liçtors, without any marks of his dignity, and expressed all the concern for him, with which he was really touched. He brought him to Thessalonica, where he had a palace as Quæstor, and engaged him to stay there for several months, although Cicero, affrighted by fresh advices of the ill designs that were forming against him by the Conspirators I have mentioned, was much inclined to go into Asia. Plancius restrained him by a kind of violence; he continued near him to watch for his safety; and employed himself so much in the duties of friendship, that he preferred them even to those of his office. The courage of the Quæstor was the more to be commended, as his Prætor did not set him the example; who, though he pitied and loved Cicero, durst not shew his sentiments outwardly, for the fear he had of Clodius.

It was in this retreat that Cicero, for a long time, waited his being recalled, with an impatience and an abjection of mind, little worthy so great a genius. His misfortunes at first
cast

A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.
*The excess-
sive grief
of Cicero.*

cast him down so much, that he had thoughts of putting an end to his life; but Atticus dissuaded him from that design, by exhorting him to preserve himself for better times. But if Cicero consented to live, it was but to weep over his ill-fortune. The letters to his wife, to his brother, to Atticus, are all full of lamentations. He incessantly represents to himself all the most afflicting circumstances of his disgrace; and if he stops a while, it is for fear of too much increasing his pain, and because his tears blots what he writes. He would not see his brother, who returned from his government of Asia, fearing he should be too much affected, and especially when they were to part. He would admit of no consolation, if it was not that of being soon recalled. But yet he was so much discouraged, that he always doubted of success, and the most favourable dispositions for that purpose could hardly revive the hope of it in his heart. His grief went so far, that it was reported at Rome, that he was gone mad: that this report was false, sufficiently appears in his letters; but all the wit he had he employed to torment himself. He continually recalled to his mind the faults which he thought he had committed, and reproached himself with great severity for them. I confess I can see but one, which was his relying too much on the vague promises of Pompey, and of having, in consequence of the confidence he placed in him, refused the employment of Lieutenant-General, which Cæsar offered him. But was it for a wise man to waste himself in unprofitable repinings at what was passed?

What

What seems to me yet less excusable, were the complaints he made against his friends, even against Atticus himself, to whom he wrote. It so ill becomes a man like Cicero, to have any of the faults of vulgar minds, that I cannot forgive him for quarrelling, in his misfortunes, with every thing about him. According to his own account, Atticus had not failed in fidelity, but in activity and zeal; and for want of interesting himself warmly enough in Cicero's dangers, had not furnished him, from the fund of prudence and knowledge he was master of, with all the resources he was able. As to Hortensius and some others, they were perfidious, and criminally abused the confidence he had placed in them. He attributed the cause of his ruin to them. "It was not," said he (a), my enemies, but those who envied me, that were my destruction." And the foundation of all these reproaches was the advice they gave him to retire from Rome, rather than fight. It would not be difficult to justify Cicero's friends against himself and by himself.

In the first place, the sensible affliction of Atticus for the misfortune of his friend, is attested by the same letters, wherein Cicero complains of him: and the services which he did him during his exile, with regard to himself and all that belonged to him, his wife, his brother, his children, are indubitable proofs of the interest he took in his dangers. Men do not cherish those in disgrace, for whom they

(a) Nos non inimici, sed invidi perdiderunt. Cic. ad Att. III. 9.

A. R. 694. had a coolness, when they could support them-
 Ant. C. 53. selves.

As to what regards Hortensius, Cicero had for a long time accused him as being envious of him. It is principally Hortensius he means, when he represents as jealous of his glory those lovers of their fish-ponds and their carp, of whom he makes a jest in more than one place of his letters to Atticus. It is certain that the sticklers for the aristocracy, such as was Hortensius, had no reason to be well satisfied with Cicero. They had always opposed Pompey, looking upon the many commands that were heaped upon him against all rule, as what might lead him to despotic power. Cicero, on the contrary, before he was Consul, had made his court to Pompey, and since his Consulship, was in a strict alliance with him. Nevertheless, the rigid Republicans, reunited themselves about Cicero, when they saw him attacked. Hortensius in particular, charged himself, as we have said, with a deputation in his favour to the Consuls; and in acquitting himself of that office, thought he should have lost his life. This assuredly was not the behaviour of a perfidious man, and a traitor. If he advised him to retire, Cato, according to Plutarch, had done the same; and Cicero declares to Atticus, that he had no room to complain of Cato. To what then are to be attributed his reproaches, so bitter and so often repeated, against Hortensius, but to a chagreen that got the better of him, and an ill humour sharpened by his misfortunes? Let us deplore the weakness of human nature, and by the example of so great a genius, so well cultivated, and nevertheless so much cast down by disgrace;

Cic. ad
 Att. II. 20,
 II. 1, &c.

Cic. ad
 Att. III.
 15.

disgrace; let us conceive that we ought not to depend upon our constancy, at least till it is put to the trial.

It was not the fault of Atticus, if his friend shewed no more courage. He had frequently, though with mildness, given him advice upon this article; but he was not listened to, and Cicero justified the excess of his grief by the excess of his misfortune. When he was re-established in Rome, and his enemies reproached him with this softness of soul, he gave it another turn, and pretended to make a virtue of it. "I was sensible, (a) said he, of a

"lively and cruel affliction; I confess it, and
 "do not go about to make a parade of a pre-
 "tended wisdom, which those required of me
 "who found me dejected and discouraged by
 "my disgrace. Could I, in seeing myself
 "torn

A. R. 694.
 Ant. C. 59.

Cicero's
 apology for
 the excess
 of his grief.
 Pro Do-
 mo. 97.

(a) Accepi magnum atque incredibilem dolorem: non nego, neque istam mihi adscisco sapientiam, quam nonnulli in me requirebant, qui me animo nimis fracto esse atque afflicto loquebantur. An ego poteram, quum à tot rerum tantâ varietate divellerer, quas idcirco prætereo quòd ne nuno quidem sine fletu commemorare possum, inficiare me esse hominem, & communem naturæ sensum repudiare? Tum verò neque illud meum factum laudabile, nec beneficium ullum à me in Rempublicam profectum dicerem, si quidem ea Reipublicæ causâ reliquisssem quibus æquo animo carerem: eam-

que animi duritiam, sicut corporis, quod quum uritur non sentit, stuporem potius quàm virtutem putarem. Suscipere tantos animi dolores, atque ea quæ captâ urbe accidunt victis, stante urbe unum perpeti, & jam se videre distrahi à complexu suorum, disturbari tecta, diripi fortunas patriæ: denique causâ patriam ipsam amittere, spoliari populi Romani beneficiis amplissimis, præcipitari ex altissimo dignitatis gradu, videre prætextatos inimicos, nondum morte complorata, arbitria petentes funeri, hæc omnia subire conservandorum civium causâ, atque ita ut dolentur absis, non tam sapiens quàm ii qui

A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.

“ torn from so many objects so dear to me,
“ which I shall not here enumerate, because I
“ cannot to this day think of them without
“ shedding tears, could I renounce my huma-
“ nity, and throw off the resentments of na-
“ ture? In this case I should not have deserv-
“ ed any praise for the part I took in retir-
“ ing; nor could I expect that the Common-
“ wealth should think itself beholden to me
“ for a benefit, if I had quitted for her only
“ those things which I could divest myself of
“ with ease. Such a hardness of soul, like
“ that of a body that cannot feel when it is
“ burnt, would be insensibility, and not vir-
“ tue. To expose one self to the most pierc-
“ ing sorrow, and suffer alone, while the city
“ enjoyed a flourishing condition, the ills which
“ the vanquished endure from the enemy when
“ a town is taken; to see one's self separated
“ from every object of one's love; to see one's
“ House destroyed, one's goods plundered;
“ and one self drove from one's country even
“ for the good of that country; to be despoil-
“ ed of all the most valuable privileges and
“ advantages of the Roman People; and pre-
“ cipitated from the highest degree of fortune
“ and splendor; to behold greedy enemies be-
“ fore the funeral of him they persecute pay-
“ ing themselves the charges of it; to suffer

qui nihil curant, sed tam a-
mans tuorum ac tui, quàm
communis humanitas postu-
lat: ea laus præclara atque
divina. Nam qui ea quæ
nunquam cara & jucunda
esse duxit animo æquo Rei-
publicæ causâ deserit, nullam

benevolentiam insignem in
Rempublicam declarat. Qui
autem ea relinquit, Reipub-
licæ causâ, à quibus cum
summo dolore divellitur, ei
patria cara est, cujus salutem
caritati ante ponit suorum.
Cic pro Demo, 97, 98.

“ all

" all these evils for the preservation of one's
 " fellow citizens, and that with feeling, with
 " grief, and not in pluming one's self with so
 " much wisdom, that nothing affects ; but by
 " retaining all that love for one's self, and
 " one's own which nature inspires : this is
 " what I call an admirable and divine glory.
 " For him who renounces without pain, in
 " consideration of the Commonwealth, what
 " was never dear to him, what does he do for
 " the Commonwealth ? What does he sacri-
 " fice to it ? But he who, for the service of
 " his country, abandons those things from
 " which he cannot tear himself without ex-
 " treme pain, he is an excellent citizen, to
 " whom his country is really dear, since he
 " prefers the safety of it to all things that are
 " the most dear to him in the world." This
 apology is well turned, and would be without
 reply, if between a savage insensibility and an
 effeminate softness there was not a medium, I
 mean that greatness of soul, which does not
 stifle sense of pain, but which moderates and
 triumphs over it.

It is impossible not to agree with Plutarch, *The reflec-
 tion of Plu-
 tarch on
 Cicero's
 weakness.*
 that from a genius adorned with so much fine
 knowledge, one has a right to expect more
 constancy in adversity ; and so much the more
 as Cicero piqued himself upon his philosophy,
 and would have his friends not call him orator,
 but philosopher, pretending that he had em-
 braced philosophy as his object by choice, and
 had made use of eloquence only as a necessary
 instrument to every one who would enter into
 the administration of public affairs. " But (a)

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L

" adds

(a) Αλλ' ἡ δὲ αὖθις διὰ τὸν λόγον ὡς περ βαρὺν ἀποχλῆσαι
 τῆς

A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.

adds this wise historian, the torrent of opinion has a terrible force in effacing from the mind the tincture of all that study and learning have introduced into it, and communicate the vices of the multitude to those who undertake to govern them, by the commerce they are obliged to have with them. A man in a public capacity can never resist this powerful seduction, at least if he does not always keep himself upon his guard, and if he has not an extraordinary care not to enter into any society with the vulgar, but on business only, and without any regard to the passions that gave rise to that business."

Cato and
Cæsar de-
part: one
for the
island of
Cyprus the
other for
Gaul.

Much about the same time, that Cicero was obliged to banish himself from Rome, Cato departed for the island of Cyprus; whither Clodius sent him: and Cæsar having thus drove from the Commonwealth the two men he most feared, had no longer any reason to keep himself in the neighbourhood of the city: But had reason to remove out of it. For the Partisans of the Aristocracy, beginning to recover from the consternation they had been thrown into by the Consulship of Cæsar, and the violence exercised upon Cicero, thought of acting against the oppressor of public liberty. Two Prætors, L. Domitius, and C. Memmius would have the acts of Cæsar's Consulship submitted to an enquiry of the Senate, with a design to have them broken. His Quæstor was brought to his examination. And he himself seeing he was attacked by the Tribune L. Antistius,

Sæcton.
Cæsar c. 23.

της ψυχῆς, καὶ τὰ τῶν πολ-
λῶν, ἀνομιῶν καὶ πᾶσι δι,
δουλίαν καὶ συνδύαν τοῖς πο-
λιτικοῖς, ὥς μὴ τῆς ἑμῆς

φολατῶντος ὅταν συμφίρμας
τοῖς πράγμασι παθῶν συμ-
μιθῶν. Plut. Cic.

implored

implored the succour of the other Tribunes, to enjoy the benefit of that law, which screens those from all prosecution who are absent for the service of the state, and hastened therefore his departure.

A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.

After he was gone away, Vatinius, who had so well served him the preceding year, was also accused at the Tribunal of the Prætor Memmius. Vatinius was actually invested with the employment of Lieutenant-General under Cæsar, and of consequence had a title to be dispensed with from answering to the accusation. But he was willing to act the part of an honest man, which very little became him: and, as if he entirely relied on his innocence, he returned from the province, where he was already got, and made a shew of putting himself upon his trial. It is very likely he thought the credit of Cæsar would bring him off without any danger; but when he found he had deceived himself, and the affair was carrying on, he began to be afraid, and implored the protection of the Tribunes, and that of Clodius by name, to excuse his presenting himself before the Judges. The thing was without example, and how exorbitant soever the power of the Tribunes was, they had always respected the order of justice. As therefore the Prætor went on in his way, Clodius and Vatinius had recourse to violence, which was their ordinary resource. Followed by a body of armed men, they came to attack the Prætor upon his Tribunal, putting him to flight, breaking the benches of the Judges, and throwing down the urns which were to receive the ballots whereon the Suffrages were written. The accusers had a great deal of difficulty to

Cic. in
Vatin.

A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.

save their lives. Thus Vatinius accused, even in a court of judicature, committed all the crimes to punish which such courts had been established. What madness! How could Rome subsist by overthrowing all laws, and all that policy, which is the foundation of human society? Ought we to be surprized that the Republican government was at last destroyed? Or ought we not rather to be surprized, that it was able to maintain itself for some years longer?

Suet. ubi
supra.

All these accusations did not leave Cæsar without some uneasiness, and were a warning to him always to procure to himself the friendship and support of the Magistrates who were employed every year. It was one of the greatest cares all the time he spent in his Province; and he spared neither pains, nor money, of which, with this view, he was most incredibly profuse. I remit to the following book his first exploits in the Gauls: and am going to give here an account of the commission given by Clodius to Cato.

Ptolomy reigned in the island of Cyprus, who had often had the portion of a younger son of the house of the Lagides. He was brother to Ptolomy Auletes, who reigned in Ægypt, and both were bastard sons of Ptolomy

*The claims
pretended
by the Ro-
mans to
Ægypt and
the island
of Cyprus.
Vaillant.
Hist. Pro-
lem.*

Lathyres. I have spoke elsewhere of a testament of Ptolomy Alexander, the last legitimate Prince of the house of the Lagides, which made the Roman People heir to all his rights; and I have said, that Cæsar, after his Ædileship, would have made the best of the Testament true or false, but that he was prevented by most of the better sort, and by the most moderate of the Senate. The condition of the two
Ptolomys

Ptolomys was therefore very uncertain, as well on account of their birth as of the pretensions that the People of Rome had to the Kingdoms they possessed. It was for this reason that Auletes bought the protection of Pompey and Cæsar so dear, that by their credit he might be acknowledged for King of Ægypt by the Senate and people of Rome, which he succeeded in under the Consulship of Cæsar. His brother, who, among other vices, was sordidly covetous, would not be at the like expence, and found himself but ill off. Clodius in his Tribuneship caused the testament of Alexander and the pretensions of the Roman People to be revived, at least to the island of Cyprus, and proposed a law to strip Ptolomy of it, and to reduce it to a Roman Province.

A motive of revenge animated him against this unhappy King. Clodius, several years after he had quitted the army of Lucullus, having risen against his General, and retired into Cilicia to Q. Marcius Rex, who made him admiral of his fleet, was taken by the Pyrates. As he was without money he addressed himself to Ptolomy King of Cyprus, to get wherewithal to pay his ransom. This covetous Prince, to whom such an expence was very displeasing, sent but two talents. The Pyrates would not receive so pitiful a sum, and chose rather to give their prisoner his liberty for nothing, as they dared not detain him, through the fear they had of Pompey, who then commanded at sea. Clodius, a long time after, coming to be Tribune, remembered this injury, and to revenge it, was resolved to dethrone Ptolomy.

I have told for what reasons he cast his eyes on Cato for this odious employment. The first

A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.

Clodius of-
fended by,
Ptolomy
King of
Cyprus.
Strabo L.
XIV. p.
684 Ap-
pian Ci-
vil. L. II.
p. 441.
Dio. L.
XXXV.

A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.

The law
of Clodius
to reduce
this island
to a Roman
Province.
Plut. Cat.

day he had it in charge, he sent for him, and told him, that knowing him to have more integrity than any other Roman, he was desirous to give him an effectual proof of his esteem, and confidence in him. That several of the most illustrious citizens had put in for the commission to reduce the island of Cyprus, the King of which possessed very great treasures; but that Cato alone was worthy of an employment, which required the most perfect disinterestedness; and that he was therefore preferred to all others. Cato cried out, that such a preference was not a benefit, but a snare, and an affront. Clodius, then assuming an air of insolence and disdain, said, *Well, if you are not willing to go with a good grace, you must be forced to it, whether you will or no.* And in fact he proposed, and got a law to pass, for sending Cato, with the authority of Prætor into the island of Cyprus to dethrone King Ptolemy, and, as if this commission was not burthensom enough of itself, he added to it, that of re-establishing the exiles of Byzantium. His scheme was to give Cato employment for a long time out of Rome, that he might not find him in his way, during the whole year of his Tribuneship. He boasted also, that by this (a) he had tore out the tongue of Cato, that was always speaking with such force against the commands given to private persons. The freedom of such language was to be no longer allowed him, according to Clodius, since he was now in the same case.

(a) Linguam se evellisse libera fuisset. Cic. pro Sext. M. Catoni, quæ semper contra extraordinarias potestates
n. 60.

It is true that the command given to Cato A. R. 694. Ant. C. 58. was not in the common course, but it could not assuredly seem dangerous to the Commonwealth: for Cato received his commission quite naked, without any forces to put it in execution; there was not given him one ship, nor one soldier, but only a Quæstor with two Secretaries, one of them a noted extortioner, and the other a client of Clodius.

There was indeed no need of a fleet or army. *The King of Cyprus has not the courage to throw his treasures into the sea.* As soon as the unfortunate King of Cyprus heard the news of the decree that passed against him at Rome, he thought it impossible for him to resist the Roman power, he despaired of his affairs, and thought not of fighting, but of dying. Only he thought at first to revenge himself of the robbers that were coming to despoil him, by disappointing them of their prey. To this end he loaded all his riches on board several vessels, and put out to sea, with a design to sink his little fleet to the bottom, and to drown himself with all he possessed. But mean slave (a) to his gold, he had not the courage to lose it, even when he condemned himself to death: but, as if he had taken care to preserve it for the Romans, he ordered it to be carried back to his palace. Val. Max. IX. 4.

Before he had executed the resolution he had taken of dying, Canidius a friend of Cato's arrived; and proposed from him to Ptolomy, to yield to his bad fortune, and to accept, as an indemnification for what was to be taken

(a) Non sustinuit mergere aurum & argentum, sed futurum suæ necis præmium domum revexit. Procul du- bio hic non possedit divitias, sed à divitis possessus est: titulo Rex insulæ, animo pecuniæ miserabile mancipium.

A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.
*He puts an
end to his
life by poi-
son.*
Plut. Cat.

*The great
exactness
of Cato in
gathering
together
the riches
of this
King.*

Diot L.
xxxix.

Plut.

from him, the title and revenues of Priest of the temple of Venus at Paphos. Ptolomy was fully determined not to struggle, with forces far unequal, against a power that had absorbed all the Kingdoms of the Universe : but he would not resolve to degrade himself, and rest satisfied with a condition inferior to that he had already enjoyed ; and chose rather to make away with himself by poison.

Cato had stopt at Rhodes, waiting the success of the negotiation of Canidius. As soon as he heard of the death of Ptolomy, he sent Brutus, his Nephew away with all expedition, to be as it were, a supervisor over Canidius, and to prevent the embezzling the King of Cyprus's treasures ; for the rigid Cato distrusted almost all the world, and even his friends. For himself, he went to Byzantium, where it was not difficult, with the power wherewith he was armed, and with the authority his virtue gave him, to re-establish peace and concord, by bringing back those into their country, who had been driven out of it by an opposite faction.

He came at length into the island of Cyprus, the People of which received him with joy, because they hated their King, and hoped to be treated with more mildness by the Romans. He therefore found no difficulties with respect to the political dispositions that he was to make in this new Province of the Empire. His only employment was to prepare the inventory of the King's treasures, and to sell the moveables and jewels of the palace. It is superfluous, and almost injurious to Cato, to observe, that in the management of this affair he shewed the most perfect integrity. But he rather

rather strained this virtue too high, as he did most others, and piqued himself upon a most rigorous exactness. He raised every thing he sold to the highest price, and was present at all himself, suspecting every one about him, door-keepers, clerks, purchasers, friends: he spoke himself to those who came to buy, endeavouring, if the expression may be allowed, to draw in customers for his goods. This stiffness which would have been indecent in a private person, acting, for his own interest, was it commendable in a matter relating to the public revenue? For my part, I cannot persuade myself that it was so. Fidelity and exactness are necessary, but without prejudice to humanity and moderation. By this conduct Cato disobliterated several of those who had been always attached to him, and in particular the oldest and best of his friends, Munatius, who continued at variance with him for a long time. And this was one of the reproaches upon which Cæsar dwells the longest in his *Anticatores*. The diligence of Cato answered the end. The spoils of the King of Cyprus, by his care amounted to near seven thousand talents, or one million and fifty thousand pounds sterling. Of all this rich prey Cato reserved to himself only a statue Plin. xxxiv. 8. vii. 30. of Zeno, the chief and author of the Stoic sect, and what made this statue valuable to him, was neither the richness of the matter it was formed of, nor the beauty of the workmanship, but for the glory only of the philosophy.

He took the greatest precaution in transporting these riches, he distributed the money in several vases, which each contained two talents, and five hundred drachma's, or three hundred and twelve pounds ten shillings sterling. At the

The precautions he took in transporting them.

A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.

*His books
of accompts
lost.
Plut.*

the neck of each of these vases was tied a long cord, at the end of which was a cork, so that if there happened a shipwreck, the corks by floating on the surface of the water might shew the places where the vases might be sunk. The voyage was very happy, with respect to the money, of which there was but a very small matter lost. It was not so with the books of accompts, which Cato had prepared in the finest order with infinite pains. He had even ordered two copies to be made, which he put on board two different vessels for the greater security: yet, spight of all this care, they were both lost in the passage. This was a real mortification to Cato's vanity: for he was not under any apprehension, that his integrity was suspected, and the less as he brought with him the superintendants, and other people of business belonging to the King of Cyprus, who had seen all that was done: But he had been in hopes that his accompts would have been kept in the archives of the Commonwealth, to serve for a model to all those who might be employed in an administration of the like kind, and he was very sorry to be deprived of this honour.

*His return
to Rome.*

He did not return to Rome, till after a year had passed away, under the Consulship of Lentulus Spinther and Metellus Nepos. When he was near the city, all the Senate, having the Consuls and Prætors at their head, and a great number of the People, went out to meet him. Cato shewed no regard to so great a mark of honour, which much shocked some people. He did not come on shore, nor order any of his vessels to stop; but employed himself wholly on the trust with which he was charged, he glided

glided along by the banks which were croud-
ed with spectators, and set not his foot on dry
land but at the naval arsenal, where the ships
of the King of Cyprus were to be put up, and
among others a galley of six ranks of oars, on
which Cato himself went on board. From
thence he had carried in pomp before, cross
the public Forum, the treasures which he had
gathered together and preserved with so much
care; and this was a kind of triumph which
drew to him the applauses of all the People.
The Senate also proposed to honour his vir-
tue, and decreed him the Prætorship for the fol-
lowing year, with the right of assisting at the
public games in the Toga prætexta. Cato re-
fused these rewards, and would have no dis-
tinctions contrary to the common laws and
rights of citizens. He required only, and ob-
tained it, that they would infranchise one of
the King of Cyprus's superintendants, of
whose services and fidelity he was particularly
well satisfied.

In the midst of the general admiration and
esteem, Clodius alone took occasion to cavil
with Cato for the loss of his books of accompts.
He was supported in this by Cæsar, who, from
Gaul, where he then made war, wrote to Clo-
dius to engage him to harass and fatigue Cato.
This was without any success, as also the re-
port they had spread was without any probabi-
lity, that Cato had desired to be declared Præ-
tor out of his rank for the year following;
that it was at his request, that the Consuls had
proposed it in the Senate; and that he had not
given it up, but because he saw the affair was
not likely to succeed. The known character
of Cato sufficiently refuted the suspicions. He
had

A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.
Vell. II.
45. Plut.

Clodius
cavils
with him
to no pur-
pose.
Dio.

A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.

had another dispute with Clodius, on account of the slaves of the King of Cyprus brought by him to Rome, and who were become the slaves of the Commonwealth. Clodius would have given them his name, because it was by virtue of a law carried by him, that Ptolomy had been stript of his Kingdom. The friends of Cato maintained, on the contrary, that the honour of naming them belonged to him, who had transmitted them into the possession of the Roman People, by dethroning their master, and reducing his Kingdom into a Province. They would therefore have had them all called *Porcius*, which was the family name of Cato: but they ended the dispute by calling them *Cyprians*.

*The Ædile-
ship of
Scaurus.
The incre-
dible pomp
of the
games he
gave the
People.*

Plin.

xxxvi. 19.

I return now to the Consulship of Piso and Gabinius, during which Scaurus was Ædile, who was at so prodigious an expence, that Pliny (a) does not scruple to say, that this example was one of the principal causes of the corruption of the manners of the age, of which we are speaking.

Scaurus was extremely rich. His father, the famous Scaurus, Prince of the Senate, under the appearance of rigid probity, neglected nothing, if we may believe Pliny, to enrich himself, however odious the means might be; and his mother Metella, having married Sylla after the death of old Scaurus, knew how to make her advantage of the time of the proscription, and had seized on the spoils of a great number of unhappy citizens. The goods so ill acquired were madly dissipated by him

(a) Cujus (Scauri) nescio an. Ædilitas maximè prostraverit mores civiles.

who became the heir to them. It is impossible not to be strongly surprized at the enormous expence that Scaurus was at in his Ædileship, for a theatre, the use of which was to last but for a month, and surpassed, in magnificence, those edifices which were built for eternity.

The scene was a large front of building of three stories, of which the first was of marble; the second, a thing incredible and singular, was of glass; the third was of wood gilt. This front was adorned with three hundred and sixty columns of the finest marble. Those at bottom were (a) thirty-eight feet high. In the intervals between the columns were placed three thousand bronzed statues, and an infinite number of pictures, among others all those of Sicyon, a city of the Peloponnesus, which had been the most famous school of painting, and which, being at that time extremely in debt, saw all her pictures seized by her creditors. Scaurus bought them, and transported them to his theatre. The part of the edifice designed for the spectators was big enough to hold fore-score thousand souls, that is to say, double what the theatre of Pompey contained, which was built to remain some years after. In short, as to what belonged to the tapestry, and ornaments of all kinds, either for the decoration of the theatre, or the dresses of the actors, the quantity and richness of them was so prodigious, that what was superfluous, being carried

* I have translated Pliny literally. Notwithstanding there appears here somewhat difficult to be understood. The distinction of the columns below and above supposes that the stories of glass and of gilt wood were garnished with columns of marble: and this does scarce seem conformable to the rules of architecture.

A. R. 694. by order of Scaurus to his country house at
 Ant. C. 58. Tusculum, and this house being burnt some
 time after, the loss was computed at an hun-
 dred millions of sesterces, or six hundred and
 twenty-five thousand pounds sterling.

Freinshem As to the spectacles, besides tragedies and
 CIV. 42, comedies, of which we have no particular de-
 43. tail, Scaurus gave the combats of wrestlers,
 hitherto unknown in Rome, and only used in
 the cities of Greece. He caused a canal to be
 dug which he filled with water, and shewed to
 the People a hippopotamus and five crocodiles,
 animals that, till that time, had never been
 seen by the Romans. In the games of the Cir-
 cus he produced an hundred and fifty panthers :
 and exposed to the view of the curious a skele-
 ton of forty feet long, the ribs of which were
 higher than those of the Indian elephant, and
 which had a back-bone of a foot and a half
 broad. It was said, that this was the skeleton
 of the sea-monster which was to have devoured
 Andromeda near the town of Joppa * in Palest-
 ine, and which was slain by Perseus.

Scaurus, after having been so profuse in
 giving a vain satisfaction to the People, was
 willing to satisfy himself in adorning and de-
 corating his own house. When his theatre
 was demolished, he ordered some of the finest
 and highest marble columns that I have been
 speaking of, to be carried to form a fine peris-
 tylum, or colonade in his house. Pliny tells

* It is there that Pliny,
 Strabo, and Pomponius Mela,
 place the scene of this event.
 M. L'Abbe Bannier, Mytho-
 log. T. III. L. II. c. 5.

p. 117. endeavours to recon-
 cile these authors with Ovid,
 who supposes this fact hap-
 pened in Ethiopia.

us, that the undertaker who had the care (a) A.R. 694.
Ant. C. 53. of the public sewers, obliged Scaurus to give him security for the damage that might happen to the vaults of the Sewers, by carrying such enormous weights over them through the streets they were to pass. "How much more necessary would it have been, says that judicious writer, to have secured the public manners from the contagion of so pernicious an example?"

Behold all that Scaurus gained by so excessive an expence, a little unnecessary ornament to his house. From the rest he reaped no other fruits, but to ruin himself, and to contract many debts. He became the more rapacious, that, by his concussions, he might fill up the voids he had made by his unreasonable pomp, in his fortune.

To Scaurus, Pliny joins Curio, as an example Games given by Curio. Plin. of a folly of the like kind, and which may be looked upon as belonging to the same time, since it was but a few years * after it. Curio xxxvi. 15. was not near so rich as Scaurus, and had from his father but a moderate fortune, which he dissipated so much by his luxury, and debaucheries, as to be in debt sixty millions of sesterces, (three hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds sterling) and which Cæsar paid for him, with design to bring him over to his party. Thus he had nothing for his patrimony but, as

(a) Satisfdari sibi damni infecti cœgit redemptor cloacarum, quum in Palatium extraherentur. Non ergo in tam malo exemplo moribus cavere utilius fuerat? Plin. xxxvi.

* It appears by the second letter of Cælius to Cicero, that Curio gave the games, and built a theatre under the Consulship of Sulpicius and Marcellus, in the year of Rome 701.

A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.

Pliny (a) elegantly expresses it, the troubles of the State, and the discord of the principal citizens. Not being able therefore, in the funeral games which he thought proper to give in honour of his father's memory, to equal the magnificence of Scaurus, he endeavoured to make it up by the singularity of the invention. He caused two theatres of wood to be built neighbours to one another, which turned each on an axis. These theatres, which inclosed both the spectacles and the spectators, were at first set back to back; and dramatic pieces were given in each at the same time, performed by the actors without their being heard or troubled by one another. In the afternoon of the same day, a half turn was given to both theatres, still filled with People, so that they formed a circle and an amphitheatre, in the middle of which were combats of the gladiators. This sport was repeated more than once, which exposed the lives of all the People; and the nation was made enough to admire a diversion that might have been their destruction.

(b) — ut qui nihil in censu habuerit, præter discordiam principum.

S E C T. II.

Mens favourable dispositions in the cause of Cicero. Pompey insulted by Clodius, returns to Cicero. The debate of the Senate, on the first of June, in favour of Cicero. The opposition of the Tribune Ælius. Combats between Clodius and Gabinius, who sided with Pompey. The arrival of Cicero's brother at Rome. The hatred of the public shews itself all manner of ways

ways against Clodius. Clodius returns to the party of the rigid Republicans. Pompey fearing that Clodius might make some attempt upon his life, shuts himself up in his house. The Consuls still continue in opposition to Cicero. The Magistrates are appointed for the following year. New efforts of the Tribunes in favour of Cicero without effect. Cicero is much troubled at a decree of the Senate in favour of the Consuls appointed. Sextius, one of the appointed Tribunes, goes into Gaul to obtain Cæsar's consent to recall Cicero. Two Tribunes of the new College gained by the faction of Clodius. Lentulus proposes Cicero's business to the Senate. The advice of Cotta. The advice of Pompey. The Tribune Gavianus prevents the conclusion of it. Eight Tribunes propose the affair to the People. The violence of Clodius. A great slaughter. Milo undertakes to put a stop to the fury of Clodius. His character. He accuses Clodius. He opposes force to force. A total suspension of affairs in Rome. The best part of the Commonwealth take the business upon themselves. Lentulus the Consul sends circular letters to all the People of Italy. The applauses of the multitude. Incredible movements in Rome and all through Italy in favour of Cicero. An assembly of the Senate in the Capitol, and a *Senatusconsultum* for ordering Cicero's being recalled. An assembly of the People, wherein Lentulus and Pompey exhort and animate the citizens. A new decree of the Senate in favour of Cicero. A solemn assembly by centuries, wherein the affair is finally determined. Cicero's abode at Dyrrachium for eight months. His departure from that city. His triumphant entry into Rome.

His houses in the city and in country rebuilt at the expence of the Republic. By Cicero's advice, the super-intendance of corn and provisions through all the Empire is decreed to Pompey. The murmurings of the rigid Republicans against Cicero. His answer. Pompey restores plenty to Rome. The violences of Clodius against Cicero and Milo. Clodius is chose Ædile. The death of Lucullus. A character of the eloquence of Callidius.

A. R. 694.

Ant. C. 58.

*Mens fa-**vourable**dispositions**in the cause**of Cicero.*

Cicero,

ubi supra.

Dio. Ap-

pian. Plut.

Cic. pro

Domo,

84, 85.

WE left Cicero in his retreat at Theffalonica swallowed up in grief, although he had already reason to conceive some hopes of better fortune. Banished for the best cause in the world, he carried with him the concern of all good men in Rome, and throughout all Italy. They did not look upon him as an exile, but preserved to him all the rights of a citizen, except those that the violence of his enemy had torn from him. L. Cotta, who had been Censor, declared with an oath in the Senate, that if he had been to prepare the tables of the Senators in the absence of Cicero, he should have put his name there, according to the rank that was due to him. No Judge was substituted in his place. None of his friends, in making their wills, failed of giving him the same legacies as if he had been present. No one, either citizen or ally of the Empire, let slip an occasion to shew him all sorts of respect, and do him all the services he had need of; and Plutarch affirms, that all Greece strove to give him the most luculent proofs of their affection and attachment to him. Lastly, the Senate, as soon as they had a ray of liberty, recommended him, as a precious trust, to all Kings

Kings and all Nations, and returned solemn thanks to all those who had taken care to preserve so excellent a citizen to the Commonwealth.

These sentiments had been for some time in the hearts of the Senators, and the greatest part of the Magistrates, before they dared let them appear; and how well inclined soever they were, they could only make use of their secret and impotent wishes, till they had the declaration of Pompey's being with them: and by the incredible rashness and petulance of Clodius, it was not long before they procured this decisive advantage to the cause of Cicero, and gave him a Protector who had not abandoned him but with some regret.

Cicero went away in the beginning of April, and in the month of May Clodius began to insult Pompey. Young Tigranes had been made prisoner, as I have said, and led in triumph by this General, who afterwards gave him to the keeping of L. Flavius, one of his friends, and Prætor in the year which we are speaking of. Clodius, bribed by a sum of money, undertook to procure Tigranes the means of making his escape. Being at supper with Flavius at his house, he desired that he would bring the Prince to him. When Clodius saw him enter the hall, he placed him at the table, seized on his person, and refused to restore him, either to Flavius, or Pompey himself, who sent to re-demand him. After some time he put him on board a ship, that was to carry him to Asia: but a storm arising at the instant that he put off to sea, he was forced to come into harbour at Antium, which is but a small distance from Rome. The Tribune

A. R. 694
Ant. C. 58.

immediately sent Sex. Clodius, a man he could confide in, to bring the Prince back again to the City. Flavius, who had notice of what had happened, went himself with an armed force to retake his prisoner: and a battle was fought by the two parties in the Appian way. Several were killed on both sides, but the greatest number on that of Flavius, and, among others, a Roman Knight, named M. Papirius, who was a friend of Pompey. Flavius was obliged to fly for it, and returned almost alone to Rome.

*Debates of
the Senate
on the first
of June,
in favour
of Cicero.
The opposi-
tion of the
Tribune
Ælius.*

Pompey was extremely piqued at this insult. He was very angry that Clodius should turn against the force of the Tribuneship, of which he himself had re-established the power. His wrath against Clodius awakened in his breast his friendship for Cicero; and he engaged the faithful and zealous Mummius Quadratus to act openly for recalling him, whom this same Tribune had endeavoured by all manner of means to save from banishment. The Senate being assembled on the first of June, Mummius, upon the refusal of the Consuls, put Cicero's affair in debate. All voices would have united to order his being recalled; but the opposition of Ælius Ligur, a Tribune and friend of Clodius, prevented the Senate's making a decree.

*Combats
between
Clodius and
Gabinus,
who put
himself on
the side of
Pompey.*

Nevertheless, this event re-animated the courage of Cicero's friends, and irritated the fury of Clodius. He knew whom he ought to be angry with; and there was no method to displease Pompey, that he did not think of, and put in practice against him. Gabinus, the creature of Pompey, ranged himself on the side of his patron. From thence combats arose in

in the Forum, which oftentimes cost the lives of several of the combatants; and in one of them, the fasces of the Consul Gabinius were broke to pieces by the multitude attached to Clodius. "It was a pleasing (a) spectacle to the Roman People, says Cicero, to see these two knaves, Gabinius and Clodius, fighting with one another. They waited the event with a perfect impartiality. Whoever of them was killed, it would be a gain: but the satisfaction would have been compleat, if they had both perished together." Clodius pushed his vengeance so far, as to employ religious ceremonies in consecrating the goods of Gabinius to the goddess Ceres; and Mummius did the same by the goods of Clodius himself. But on both sides they were only vain menaces without any real effect.

During these debates, Cicero's brother arrived in Rome, with an equipage suitable to his grief, and was received by a great number of the best citizens, who went out to meet him, mixing their tears with his. He came to back the solicitations and prayers of Cicero's son-in-law, Piso Frugi, a young man of great merit, and who shewed himself inviolably attached to the cause of his father-in-law; but who could not reap the fruits of his virtue, dying a little before his return. Terentia, the wife of Cicero, also performed every part of her duty: and so many supplications united, very much moved the compassion of the citizens.

(a) Quo quidam in spectaculo mira populi Romani æquitas erat. Uter eorum perisset — in ejusmodi pari

lucrum fieri putabat: immortalem verò quæstum, si uterque cecidisset. Cic. in Pis. n. 27.

A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.

On the contrary, the hatred of the public shewed itself all manner of ways against Clodius. In all the games that were given this year to the people, he dared never shew himself, for fear of being houted at, hissed, or perhaps something worse. Whoever had served him against Cicero, whatever business he had, of what kind soever it might be, was condemned at all the Tribunals. The Roman Knights rallied, that they might unite their forces. The Senators not being able to get the Consuls to propose going into debate upon the affair of Cicero, threw by all others, and would not listen to any thing, till that which they looked upon as the principal was determined.

*Clodius
returns to
the party
of the rigid
Republicans.*

It was impossible but all these movements must make Clodius uneasy. But what appears to me the most singular in his conduct, was his pretending to act the part of an honest man, and a stickler for the rights of the Senate, and the Aristocracy. He knew that the rigid Republicans had at all times opposed Pompey, and could not suffer, but with pain, the authority he assumed in the Commonwealth. As therefore he found Pompey in his way, he turned towards that party which was against him. He said, both in the Senate and before the People, that the laws of Cæsar had been carried in contempt of the Auspices; but did not remember, as Cicero observes, that among those laws was that which made him a Plebeian. He produced Bibulus, the Collegue of Cæsar, upon the Tribunal of Harangues, and asked him, if he was not employed in observing the signs that appeared in the heavens, at the time that Cæsar carried his laws?

laws? Bibulus confirmed the fact. Clodius afterwards interrogated the Augurs, and asked them, if laws carried in such circumstances, were not void to all intents? They answered, that the thing was so. This wretch, without religion, as without morals, thus made them both a pretext to serve his interests.

He was so little ashamed of contradicting himself, that he went so far as to say, that the Senate would break the acts of Cæsar as contrary to the auspices, and, for himself, he was ready to lend his shoulders to bear back Cicero the saviour of the city.

However absurd this farce was, the defenders of the Aristocracy suffered themselves to be the dupes of it. They were so charmed with hearing Pompey decried in the popular assemblies, they no longer considered Clodius but as the enemy of him whom they hated, "Clodius decried Pompey by his investives!" says Cicero, (a) but he more really decried that great man, when he heaped on him his "praises."

If we may believe Cicero, Clodius was even mad enough to make an attempt upon the life of the first citizen of the Commonwealth. Our orator assures us, in more than one place, that a slave of Clodius was apprehended, in the temple of Castor, with a poinard, which he confessed he was armed with to kill Pompey. This is certain, that Pompey, after this adventure, shut himself up in his own house, and appeared no more in public all the rest of the

(a) Detrahat ille vituperando! Mihi, medius fidius, tum de illius amplissimâ dignitate detrahere, quum max-

imis laudibus efferebat, videbatur. *Cic. de Har. Resp.* n. 50.

Pro Sext. n. 64. & *pro Mil.* II. 18.

A. R. 694.
 App. C. 58.

year, either in the Senate or elsewhere. But yet he was not at quiet in his house, for a freedman of Clodius, named Damio, came to besiege him there, though to no purpose; but Clodius was insolent enough to threaten, in harangues to the People, that he would destroy Pompey's house, as he had that of Cicero, and like himself, (a) he declared, that he would build a portico in the quarters of Carinæ, (which was the part of Rome where Pompey's house was) which should answer to that he had built on mount Palatine.

The Consuls still continue in opposition to Cicero.

It was not to be hoped to vanquish this furious Tribune, while he was supported by the two Consuls: For Piso continued always faithful to him, and Gabinius, although he was at open war with Clodius, in what related to Pompey, was not the more disposed to allow the Senators to deliberate on the recalling of Cicero. The pretext of the Consuls was, (b) that the law Clodia prevented them. "Yes," says Cicero, the law that assigned them the government of Provinces, and not that which every citizen of Rome looked upon as law." The Prætor L. Domitius was not stopt by the prohibition of this unjust law; but offered to propose himself the affair to the Senate, since the Consuls refused it.

The Magistrates are appointed for the following year.

At length the Magistrates were appointed for the following year. Of the two Consuls named, one was P. Lentulus Spinther, a de-

(a) Quum in concionibus diceret, velle se in Carinis ædificare alteram porticum, quæ Palatio responderet. *Cic. de Har. Resp. n. 49.*

(b) Non se rem impro-

bare dicebant, sed lege istius impediri. Erat hoc verum; nam impediabantur, verum ea lege, quam idem iste de Macedonia Syriâque tulerat. *Cic. pro Domo, n. 70.*

terminated

terminated friend of Cicero, the other seemed rather disposed to hurt than serve him. This was Q. Metellus Nepos, a Cousin of Clodius, and who moreover had had some very warm disputes with Cicero during his Tribuneship. He was nevertheless moderate enough to remain neuter, and we shall see, by what follows, that he even became favourable to the cause which every day acquired new defenders.

Eight Tribunes, that is to say, all the college, except Clodius and Ælius Ligur, who was devoted to him, proposed, on the 29th of October, a law for recalling Cicero, and brought the affair into debate in the Senate. The Consuls might insist on the law Clodia, and their prohibiting any one to propose, to debate, or conclude any thing in favour of Cicero's return: The Senate had no regard to it, and P. Lentulus, giving his opinion first in quality of Consul elect, spoke with great force of argument on the necessity of restoring as soon as possible to the Commonwealth a citizen they could not be without. The wishes of the Senate and all good men thus appeared on every occasion; but there was always something to retard the effects of them. And now the Tribune Ælius a second time stopped the Senate by his opposition.

Although Lentulus was very zealous for the re-establishment of Cicero, he nevertheless, with his future Collegue, gave him a good deal of uneasiness. These two Consuls appointed were desirous to make sure of the governments of the provinces they expected after their Magistracy; and even, which was never done, that from that instant their provinces should be ornated, so the Romans expressed it, that is

A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.

to say, the number and quality of the troops should be assigned, that they were to command; their general-officers named: the sums of money, the ammunition, and all things necessary for their governments settled. The Senate granted what they required, even with the consent of Cicero's friends. For himself, he was very sorry for it, for two principal reasons: The first was, that the Consuls elect having no longer any thing to hope or to fear, were more free and independent; and that the credit of Cicero's friends being henceforth of no farther use to them, no motive of personal interest would attach them to his cause. Moreover, this decree of the Senate in favour of Lentulus and Metellus Nepos, was a breach of that law they had made not to deliberate on any affair, till that of Cicero was determined. Nothing was more honourable for him than such a resolution, and therefore it is not surprizing, that he should be concerned at losing this advantage. However, his disquiets were vain; and Lentulus, although he had no longer any self-interest in it, did not serve him with the less fidelity and courage.

Sextius, a Tribune elect, goes into Gaul, to obtain Cæsar's consent for recalling Cicero.
Cic. pro Sext. n. 70.

The Tribunes elect seemed to be all well-inclined to Cicero, and eight of them remained attached to his cause. Among these Sextius signalized his zeal, even before he entered upon his office. The friends of Cicero knew they could not succeed, if Cæsar did not support them, at least, if he did not cease to oppose them. Sextius took a journey into Gaul, to determine that General, whose credit, even in his absence, was so great in Rome, to lay aside his resentment: But it seems that the solicitations of Sextius had but little effect. Cæ-

far

far could not, with any good will, agree to the recalling a man, whose superior understanding, and whose attachment to the cause of public liberty, rendered him too much suspected by him. If he did not oppose it in the end, it was but in consideration of Pompey, who would have it so.

As soon as the new Tribunes entered upon their charge, and began among themselves to prepare the law for recalling Cicero, the two who were privately brought over by the faction of Clodius, declared themselves, these were Numerius Quintius Gracchus, and Sex. Atilius Gavianus, men otherwise unknown, and whom our Orator represents as every way deserving contempt. The other eight persevered in their laudable design: And they had one great advantage over those of the preceding year, in that they were powerfully supported by one of the Consuls, Lentulus Spinther, who, from the first of January, acted agreeably to the same generous declarations he had made whilst only in nomination.

P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER. A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 38.

Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

The first assembly of the Senate, in which the new Consuls presided, was very numerous. All the People were in great attention, as well as the Deputies of all the cities of Italy, who were come thither to bring their addresses to the Capital. Lentulus proposed the affair of Cicero, and spoke with that dignity and courage that perfectly well became his place; and his Colleague promised, that, in deference to the Senate, and with a view to the public good,

A. R. 695.
Ant. C. 57.

good, he would reconcile himself to a citizen, so universally esteemed and desired.

*The advice
of Cotta.*

It was afterwards put to the vote. L. Cotta, an old Consul and an old Censor, gave his opinion the first, and in a manner that was singular; but as disgraceful to Clodius, as it was honourable to Cicero. He maintained, that nothing that had been done against Cicero, was juridical or according to rule; that the law of Clodius against him was no law but a violation of all laws; that of consequence his retreat ought not to be looked upon but as the effect of violence on one part, and on the other as the great love of his country, which made Cicero chuse rather to sacrifice himself, than be the occasion of slaughter and the effusion of the blood of citizens. He concluded that since he had not been banished by any law, he had no need to be recalled by a law, and that the desire of the Senate was sufficient.

*The ad-
vice of
Pompey.*

This manner of reasoning was the most flattering to the cause of Cicero, but it was not the safest for his person. Pompey, who spoke next, agreed to the justness of Cotta's reflections, but said, that, nevertheless, to put Cicero out of danger of popular commotions, he thought it proper that the Suffrages of the People should be joined to the authority of the Senate, and that the Consuls should propose a law to annul that of Clodius, and order the re-establishment of Cicero. This advice was approved not by the majority only, but unanimously, when the Tribune Atilius Gavianus, without opposing it in form, demanded that the conclusion of the business might be deferred till another day: This could not be refused him, and so the affair was dropt.

*The Tri-
bune Ga-
vianus pre-
vents the
conclusion
of it.*

The

The eight Tribunes took it up again : and A. R. 695. Ant. C. 57. Eight Tribunes proposed the affair to the People. The violence of Clodius. A great slaughter.
 Q. Fabricius at their head prepared, on the 23d of January, to hold an Assembly, to deliberate on the law which he had proposed some days before. Clodius did not waste time in making an opposition, or cavil about formalities. His brother Appius, who was Prætor this year, had the gladiators, who were to give a spectacle to the People. Clodius joining a pack of ruffians to them taken out of dungeons, let them loose upon the friends of Cicero. Cispinus, one of the Tribunes, was wounded. Q. Cicero saved his life only by hiding himself till he could find a way to make his escape by flight. The slaughter was so great, that the Tiber, and the Common-sewers were almost choaked up by the great number of dead bodies thrown into them, and the public Forum drowned in a river of blood.

The rage of Clodius did not stop here ; and in a quarrel that happened, without our knowing distinctly the cause of it, between the Tribune Sextius and the Consul Metellus Nepos, although this Tribune did nothing but according to the duty of his office, he found himself, on a sudden, attacked, and brought down to the ground, where he was left for dead, having about twenty wounds upon him. A Tribune, whose person was sacred, assassinated in the exercise of his office, was an attempt that seemed very atrocious ; therefore Clodius feared the consequences of it : but it is hardly to be imagined what an expedient he thought of to deceive the People. He resolved to cause Numerius Quintius to be killed, who was a Tribune of his own faction, so that his death might be imputed to the friends of Cicero,

A. R. 695.
Ant. C. 57.

Cicero, and that the hatred occasioned by the death of a Tribune might be divided between him and his adversaries. Happily for Quintius, his Collegue Sextius did not find himself mortally wounded : but the first was in danger, as long as the life of the second was uncertain.

Against such violences there was no resource but in force. Sextius to secure his life, was obliged to raise men, and place a guard about his person. Milo, one of his Collegues ; and him of all the Tribunes, who, with the greatest generosity and perseverance, supported the cause of Cicero, being, of consequence, exposed to the same dangers with Sextius, took also the same precaution.

Milo undertakes to put a stop to the fury of Clodius. His character.

Afcon.
Ped. in
Mil.

Milo was a man whose courage carried him even to daring, and by that he was more capable than any one to repress the furious temerity of Clodius : therefore from the time that he first entered the lists with him, during his Tribuneship, their combats continued, without peace or truce, till they were determined by the death of one, and the banishment of the other. The birth of Milo seems to have been illustrious ; but among those families, which without being antiently Romans, held, nevertheless a distinguished rank in Italy. He was of Lanuvium, and son of one Papius, a name famous in the social war. For himself, he was adopted by his maternal grand-father, and, in consequence thereof, took the name of Annius. He must have been upon a very considerable footing at Rome, since he made a very brilliant alliance there a few years after, having married Fausta daughter of the Dictator Sylla : but more than all other recommendation, his personal merit put him in a condition to pretend

Cic. ad
Att. iv.
13.

to

to every thing. He proposed to raise himself by the ways of honour; and the cause of Cicero seemed to him a fair occasion to draw to himself the esteem and affection of all good men. He signalized his virtue in a very glorious manner, animated the more, if we may believe Appian, by Pompey, who shewed him a prospect of the Consulship for his reward.

A. R. 695.
Ant. C. 57.

As he saw that the horrible excesses to which Clodius gave himself up every day, tended to nothing but to take away all hopes of re-establishing Cicero, and entirely to discourage the good citizens, and to make the licentiousness of a mad man prevail in the city, he resolved to attack him, by the laws, who pretended to impose every thing by force, he accused him in form, as guilty of violences in contempt of the public tranquillity. This bold step disconcerted Clodius, who, having Milo for his accuser, could not hope to corrupt his Judges a second time. All his hopes was to elude judgment, and for this he found a support on the side of the Magistrates. The Consul Metellus his cousin, the Prætor Ap. Claudius his brother, a Tribune of the People his creature, caused orders to be set up, which was without example in Rome, to stop the course of justice. These Magistrates forbade the accused to appear, that he should be cited, or informations made against him.

He accuses Clodius.

The protection (a) of the laws and of judgment

He opposes force to force.

(a) Quid ageret vir ad virtutem, dignitatem, gloriam, natus, vi sceleratorum

hominum corroboratâ, legibus judiciisque sublati? Ceterum, Tribunus plebis privatus,

A. R. 695.
Ant. C. 57

ment being thus refused Milo, he was either to abandon so fair a cause as that he had undertaken, or by exposing himself without defence to the fury of an armed adversary, become the victim of it. He thought it would be shameful for him, either meanly to desist, or to suffer himself to be overcome; therefore he took the method of hiring the gladiators, and encompassing himself about with armed men who might resist those by which his enemies was accompanied wherever he went. But he had care to keep himself within the bounds of a necessary defence, and employed no force but when he was attacked by Clodius. The battles between them were frequent; Milo's house was assailed more than once by the party of Clodius, and always well defended. The Consul Lentulus was not spared himself; but the factious broke his fasces. Every quarter of the city became a field of battle, where oftentimes much blood was shed. From so much disorder this advantage, at least, was drawn, that Clodius did not reign, and every where found an antagonist who made head against him, and very often gained the victory over him.

Post. red.
in Sen.
n. 7.

*A total
suspension
of affairs
in Rome.*

This little sort of intestine war, joined to the resolution long since taken, of getting Cicero's affair to pass before any other, reduced to silence the Tribunals, the assemblies of the People, and that of the Senate. All things were suspended: no audiences given by the Senate to Ambassadors, no judgments, no decrees of the People. A condition so violent

to, præstantissimus vir pro-
fligatissimo homini daret?
An causam susceptam afflige-

ret? an se domi contineret?
Et vinci turpe putavit, & de-
terreri. *Cic. pro Sext. n. 89.*

could

could not be of long continuance. One of the contending parties must necessarily put an end to it, by getting the better of the other: and happily it was the best that triumphed.

All the splendor and all the majesty of the Commonwealth was on this side. Both the Consuls (for Metellus at least was not against it) all the Prætors, except the brother of Clodius, eight of the Tribunes of the People, protected the cause of Cicero. So great an authority, supported by the courage and party of Milo, made itself at length respected by those who had at first made an opposition to it:

And Lentulus, by virtue of a *Senatusconsultum*, which nobody had dared to oppose, sent circular letters through all Italy, to invite those who had any regard for the safety of the State to come to Rome, to concur in the re-establishment of Cicero: A procedure without example, not only for the interests of a private man, but even in the common dangers of the whole Republic.

The news of this *Senatusconsultum* being immediately carried to a spectacle of the gladiators, where there happened to be a great number of people, it was received with inexpressible transports of joy. Every Senator who came to this spectacle at his coming from the Senate was applauded; but when the Consul himself, who gave the games, arrived there, and had taken his place, all the Senators rose; and stretching out their arms towards him, testified their joy and their acknowledgment by tears, which plainly made it appear how dear Cicero was to the Roman People.

* I suppose that this *Senatusconsultum* was that made in the temple of Honour and Virtue built by Marius.

A. R. 695.

Ant. C. 57.

*Incredible**movements**in Rome**and all**Italy, in**favour of**Cicero.*

Upon the invitation of the Consul and the Senate, there were both in Rome and all Italy incredible movements in favour of Cicero. Every one was willing, according to the example set them by the first assembly of the State, to shew their zeal for the re-establishment of so illustrious a proscript. In Rome, and round about it, the Roman Knights, all the Societies interested in the revenues, the order of Notaries, even all the trading Companies, and all Communities of inhabitants in the neighbouring country towns, assembled, and formed decrees honourable to Cicero. The several people of Italy did the same. Pompey himself gave the signal to all the municipal towns, and to all the colonies; for being actually the first Magistrate of Capua, he caused a new decree to be made by this colony, which served for a model to all the rest. After which he was zealous enough to go into several of these towns, and encourage the inhabitants to follow the example he had set them. There was an universal fermentation in Italy, which sent a prodigious multitude of citizens from all parts to Rome.

An assembly of the Senate in the Capitol; and a Senatus-consultum for ordering Cicero's being recalled.

Lentulus seeing himself so powerfully supported, convoked a celebrated and numerous assembly of the Senate in the Capitol. It was there that the Consul Metellus Nepos suffered himself to be entirely reconciled to the cause of Cicero. P. Servilius Isauricus, a respectable old man, a former Consul and Censor, adorned with the honour of a triumph, and father of a Consul, addressed himself to him in a moving and pathetic exhortation. He recalled to mind the attachment that the Metelli had always had to the maxims of the Aristocracy,

cracy, and to the authority of the Senate : He cited to him his own brother, Q. Metellus Celer, who died two years before, and who made it a law with him to oppose Clodius in every thing : He put him in mind of Q. Metellus Numidicus, the honour of their family, banished like Cicero, and like him regretted by the whole city. In short, he spoke with so much force, that the Consul could not refrain from tears, no equivocal proof of a sincere reconciliation : And in fact, he no longer contented himself with not only not resisting his Colleague, but supported, and seconded him in every step he took.

A. R. 695.
Ant. C. 57.

The assembly was composed of four hundred and seventeen Senators. Among so great a number of voters, Clodius found his voice alone the only one against Cicero. It was therefore resolved that Cicero should be recalled, and that, to this end, the Consuls and other Magistrates, by the authority of the Senate, should immediately make the proposition to the People assembled by Centuries.

The next day the Consul Lentulus laid before the People what had passed in the Senate ; and Pompey joining with him, made a speech, wherein he expressed himself in a manner highly honouring Cicero, and in terms which shewed the most lively and tender friendship. He treated him as the *Saviour of the State*, and said, as the public safety operated by him, it could not subsist but with him. He did not only employ exhortations and counsels, but added prayers and supplications, as interesting for Cicero, as if they had been for a brother or a father.

An assembly of the People, wherein Lentulus and Pompey exhort and animate the citizens.

A. R. 695.

Ant. C. 57.

A new decree of the Senate in favour of Cicero.

The Senate made haste to come to a conclusion; and for that purpose made a preparatory decree, containing several articles, all more favourable one than the other to a cause, which became manifestly the cause of the Commonwealth. He forbade all persons whatsoever to bring any obstacles to the re-establishment of Cicero, declaring, that whoever did any thing to prevent it, would offend the Senate, and must be looked upon as an enemy to the Republic, to the safety of good men, and the union of the citizens. He even ordered, that if the cavalling of ill-disposed persons should too much retard the decision, Cicero might return without needing any other formality. He ordered thanks to be given to those who came from the several towns in Italy to Rome, inviting them farther to carry the same zeal to the solemn assembly of the People, where the affair was to be finally determined.

A solemn assembly by Centuries, wherein the affair is finally determined.

At length the great day arrived, which was the object of so much desire, and many negotiations for more than a year. The Protectors of the cause of Cicero had judged, with great reason, that the highest degree of authority ought to be given to the law by which he was to be recalled, in order to take away from his enemies for ever the pretence of doing any thing against it. Thus, whereas he had been banished only by a Tribunitian law, carried in that sort of assembly called Comitia by Tribes, which comprehended only the Plebeians, and where a Tribune presided, this was an assembly by Centuries, that was appointed to order his re-establishment; a kind of assembly the most august, and which fully represented every order in the Nation. Both Consuls, seven Prætors,

tors, and eight Tribunes of the People, proposed or supported the law. A. R. 695. Ant. C. 57. Lentulus and Pompey made speeches filled with the just praises of Cicero, with exhortations to the People, and prayers. All the distinguished members of the Senate, the antient Consuls, and antient Prætors, appeared upon the Tribunal of Harangues, and spoke the same language. Clodius alone raised his voice against the unanimous vows of all orders and all the citizens, and was not heard but with an indignation that could not be very pleasing to him.

The assembly was the most numerous that ever had been seen. All the People, all Italy was present in it. No one thought he could be dispensed with, through age or infirmities, in not coming to testify his zeal for his country, by voting for the return of him, who had been the preserver of it. There was no variety in the suffrages, all with one common voice authorized the law, and Cicero (a) had reason to say, in extolling the circumstances of this day, so glorious to him, that Lentulus had not simply brought him back to his country, but had made him re-enter in pomp, and in a triumphal car. The law was brought in and received on the 4th of August. Thus the continuance of Cicero's exile, who went out of Rome in the beginning of April the year before, was sixteen months. Cic. ad Att. IV. 1.

(a) Itaque P. Lentuli beneficio excellenti atque divino, non reducti sumus in patriam, sicut nonnulli clarissimi cives, sed equis insignibus & curru aurato reportati. *Post red. in Sen.* n. 28.

A. R. 695.

Ant. C. 57.

*Cicero's**abode at**Dyrrachi-**um for**eight**months.**His de-**parture**from that**City.*

Cic. ad

Att. III.

& IV.

He had already some time approached nearer to Italy; from the end of the preceding year Thessalonica had ceased to appear a safe azylum to him. This town depended on the government of Macedonia, of which Piso his enemy was immediately to take possession; and the report of the near arrival of the troops that this new Governor had sent before him, determined Cicero to seek elsewhere a retreat. Atticus, who was then at his estate in Epirus, invited him to come and join him. Cicero preferred Dyrrachium, where he should be nearer to hear news from Rome, and of which place the inhabitants had already shewn him much affection. He arrived there on the 25th of November, and passed above eight months there, that is to say, till the 4th of August following, which was the same day that the law for his being recalled was authorized by the suffrages of all the People. That day he embarked at Dyrrachium, and landed the next at Brundisium, where he found his dear daughter Tullia. Three days after he received, by a letter from his brother, the news of the law that re-established him, and this was the occasion of an universal joy to the whole city of Brundisium.

His triumphant entry into Rome.

Post red.

in Sen.

n. 39.

His return to Rome was triumphant, and Plutarch observes, that Cicero has not exaggerated, in saying that all Italy had in some sort brought him back again into the bosom of his country upon their shoulders. But the better to conceive the glory of this return, let us see the circumstantial description which our Orator himself gives of it. I am going to relate it in his own words. “ All (a) the road,

“ says

(a) Mens reditus is fuit, ut à Brundisio usque Romam agmen

“ says he, from Brundisium to Rome, was
 “ bordered by a continued croud of the seve-
 “ ral people of Italy, for there was not any
 “ canton, nor any town in it that did not send
 “ deputations to congratulate me. What shall
 “ I say of the manner in which I was received
 “ in each place; how, both from the towns
 “ and the country, the fathers of families with
 “ their wives and their children, either went
 “ out before me or came to me in my way to
 “ testify their joy; how many holidays were
 “ celebrated on my account, with as much
 “ chearfulness and pomp, as those which are
 “ consecrated to the honour of the immortal
 “ gods? But the day especially in which I re-
 “ entered Rome, that day alone is worth an
 “ immortality to me. I saw the Senate and
 “ the whole People come out of the gates to
 “ receive me; and Rome herself almost shak-
 “ ing on her foundations, seemed to advance
 “ to embrace her preserver. It might be said,
 “ that not only the men and women of all ages,
 “ all orders, and all conditions; but the very

A. R. 695.
 Ant. C. 57.

agmen perpetuum totius Ita-
 liæ viderem. Neque enim
 regio fuit ulla; neque mu-
 nicipium, neque præfectura,
 aut colonia, ex quâ non pub-
 licè ad me venerint gratula-
 rum. Quid dicam adventus
 meos; quid effusiones ho-
 minum ex oppidis? quid
 concursum ex agris patrum
 familias cum conjugibus ac
 liberis? quid eos dies, qui
 quasi deorum immortalium
 festi & solennes, sunt ad-
 ventu meo redituque cele-
 brati? Unus ille dies mihi

quidem immortalitatis instar
 fuit, quum senatum egressum
 vidi populumque Romanum
 universum; quum mihi ipsa
 Roma propè convulsa sedi-
 bus suis, ad complectendum
 conservatorem suum proce-
 dere visa est: quæ me ita
 accepit, ut non modò om-
 nium generum, ætatum, or-
 dinum, omnes viri ac muli-
 eres, omnis fortunæ ac loci,
 sed etiam mænia ipsa vide-
 rentur, ac tecta urbis, &
 templa lætari. *In Pis.* 51,
 52.

A. R. 695. " walls, the houses and the temples, conceived
Ant. C. 57. " transports of joy on seeing me."

Among this innumerable croud of great and small, there were only to be excepted the declared enemies of Cicero, I say declared: For Crassus, notwithstanding their former bickerings mixt himself with the rest, engaged to take this step by his son, of whom I have spoke elsewhere.

Cic. ad

Att. IV. 3.

When Cicero arrived at the Porta Capena, the stairs of the neighbouring temples well filled with an infinite number of People, who, as soon as they perceived him, clapped their hands, and made the place ring with their cries of joy and felicitation. All this multitude accompanied him as far as the capitol, where he went in the first place to pay those duties which religion prescribed to him. After which he was conducted back, in the same manner, to the house where he was to lodge. The next day, which was the 5th of September, he returned his thanks to the Senate, in a speech which we have, and in which he did not content himself with paying his compliments to the Assembly in general, but named one after another all the Magistrates his benefactors, and among the private men Pompey alone. He thus fulfilled the laws of gratitude which was one of his favourite virtues, and observing in this the most agreeable order, beginning with the Deity, and afterwards acquitting himself towards man.

Such was the return of Cicero, the splendor of which was so great, that it gave him reason to say, (a) that had he considered only his

(a) Ut tua mihi consecrata illa vis non modò non pulsanda, sed etiam e-

menda fuisse videtur. Pro
Demo, n. 75.

glory,

glory, he ought not to have resisted the violences of Clodius, but to have sought and purchased them,

A. R. 695.
Ant. C. 57.

There was one thing yet wanting to make his re-establishment complete : that was to re-enter into the possession of his house, and to see it rebuilt. It must be remembered here what I have said of the ingenious malice of Clodius, who was willing both to disgrace Cicero by confounding the site of his house with that of M. Fulvius an enemy of the public, and by taking from him all hopes of ever recovering it, by consecrating it to religion in a pretended dedication to the goddess of liberty. It is easy to guess what were the sentiments of Cicero on the account. " If (a) not only they " do not restore me my house, says he in a " pleading, that he made to reclaim it, but " that it should be found to be changed, at " the very instant that my enemy gloried in " my affliction, in his own crimes and in the " public calamity, in such case, who can doubt " but my return would be an eternal punishment to me? My house is in the most frequented quarter of Rome, exposed to the view of all the citizens. If they will preserve that wretched building there, which bears the inscription of the name of an ene-

His houses in the city and country rebuilt at the expense of the Republic.

(a) Sin mea domus non modò mihi non redditur, sed etiam monumentum præbet inimico doloris mei, sceleris sui, publicæ calamitatis: quis erit, qui hunc reditum potius, quàm pœnam sempiternam putet? In conspectu præterea totius est urbis domus mea, Pontifices: in

quâ si manet illud non monumentum urbis, sed sepulcrum, inimico nomine inscriptum; demigrandum potius aliquò est, quàm habitandam in eâ urbe, in quâ tropea & de me, & de Republicâ videam constituta.
Pro Domo, 100.

A. R. 695. " my, and which cannot be looked upon as an
 Ant. C. 57. " ornament to the city, but as its sepulchre ; I
 " must retire to any other part of the world,
 " rather than inhabit a place, where I shall
 " have before my eyes the trophies of a vic-
 " tory gained over the Commonwealth and my
 " self.

De Har.
 Resp.
 n. 11.

The dedication only made all the difficulty. For the law which ordered the recall of Cicero, re-established him in the enjoyment of all his rights, and all his goods : but that which had been once consecrated to the gods could never more be taken away for profane uses ; therefore before he could be allowed to re-enter his house, it was necessary, that the Pontiffs should determine whether the consecration that had been made was valid or not.

This question was pleaded before the College of Pontiffs between Cicero and Clodius, on the last day of September. Our Orator displayed all the force of his eloquence, on a subject which interested him so nearly, and had reason to be satisfied with the success of it. The Pontiffs declared, that if the person who pretended to make the dedication, had not been nominally charged with this commission by the People, Cicero might be restored to the soil that belonged to him. All the world looked upon this judgment as giving the cause to Cicero ; for nothing was more certain than that the dedication was made without any order from the People. Nevertheless Clodius, always impudent to the last degree, caused himself to be presented to the People on the spot, by his brother Appius, who was Prætor, and gave out in a wild harangue, that the Pontiffs had determined

determined in his favour, and that Cicero ^{A. R. 695.}
would repofsess himself of his house by force. ^{Ant. C. 57.}

He imposed upon no body, but the Senate being assembled the next day, the first of October, took from him all pretence to his ridiculous triumph. All the Pontiffs who were Senators, were present, and Cn. Lentulus Marcellinus, Consul elect, and the first who delivered his opinion, asked them before all the motives of their judgment. M. Lucullus answered in the name and by the consent of all his Collegues, that it was for the Pontiffs to decide as to what regarded religion, and for the Senate with respect to the law they had made for destroying the house in dispute. That as Pontiffs they had pronounced themselves on the rights of religion, and as Senators they were going to do it upon the law. Himself, his Collegues, and all the other Senators declared themselves in favour of the cause of Cicero. Clodius who saw what turn the affair was likely to take, was willing to prevent the conclusion of it by speaking all the rest of the day. But at length the indignation of all the Assembly, and the noise that was raised, obliged him to hold his tongue. The Tribune Atilius Gavianus came to the support of Clodius, and opposed the decree, which of consequence could not be made that day. But the uneasiness of men's minds was so great that Atilius dared not persist the next day. The ^{Cic. in.} ^{Pis. n. 52.} ^{Senatusconsultum} was prepared, and it was said that the houses of Cicero in town and country should be rebuilt at the expence of the Commonwealth; an honour that had never been done to any other citizen. It was also ordered that the Portico of Catulus should be restored according

A. R. 695.
Ant. C. 57.

according to the former plan, and such as it was before Clodius had united a part of Cicero's house to it; in so much that the name and the work of that madman might entirely disappear.

When Cicero says that his houses were rebuilt at the expence of the public; this requires some explanation, and means only that there was money assigned to him out of the Treasury for that purpose. And that they might proceed therein with justice, an estimate was made of his houses: and that in Rome was valued at two millions of sesterces, that is to say, about twelve thousand five hundred pounds sterling. Cicero seems to be satisfied on this article: but he complains to Atticus, that those at Tusculum and Formia were forbidly rated and much beneath their real value,

* 3175 l.
sterling.
† 1562 l.
10 s. sterling.

that is to say, the first at * five hundred thousand sesterces; the other at † two hundred and fifty-thousand: which he attributes to the intrigues of those who envied him. "Those who before had clipt my wings, were sorry (a) says he agreeably, to see my feathers grow again; but for all that, I flatter myself they will not grow the less.

By Cicero's advice, the superintendence of corn and provisions throughout all the Empire is decreed to Pompey. Cic. pro Domo & ad Att. iv. 1.

It is true that gratitude, the engagements he had entered into, and lastly interest and policy had so strictly united Cicero to Pompey, that it is not very surprizing that the rigid republicans should be dissatisfied and alarmed. All this happening it had awakened their inquietudes. Bread was very dear in Rome, and

(a) Idem illi qui mihi ro, jam resuscitant, Cic. pennas inciderant, nolant ad Att. iv. 2. eisdem renasci: sed, ut spe-

they

they were afraid of a famine there. This fear A. R. 695.
Ant. C. 57. was the occasion of the multitudes mutinying so far as to attack and being ready to force the house of the Prætor L. Cæcilius, who, gave the Apollinarian games. This movement and several others like it, were originally owing to the discontents of the People themselves ; but Clodius had greatly added his own to them, and always ready to excite seditions, he scarce ever failed to increase the fire when he once found it lighted up. At his instigation the populace laid hold on Cicero, and as soon as he entered Rome, troops of the seditious demanded bread of him, as if it depended upon him to give it them. The good citizens thought also it would be proper for him to concern himself in the affair, in order to take away the superintendence of provisions from such a wretch as Sex. Clodius, to whom Clodius had given it in his Tribuneship, and to transfer it to Pompey, who, for a long time, had been the resource of the Commonwealth in all cases of difficulty and importance.

The Senate assembled in the Capitol to deliberate on means to remedy this evil. The tumult was so great, and the populace so furious, that the greatest part of the Consuls dared not come to the Senate. There were but three found there, Cicero, Messala, and Afranius. Cicero proposed to engage Pompey to take upon himself the superintendence of provisions, and that the *Senatusconsultum* they should make thereon should be supported by an ordinance of the people. This advice being followed, Cicero gave an account of it to the People immediately. The next day the Senate being assembled in a great number no
one

A. R. 695. one of the Consulars was missing, and they all
Ant. C. 57.

agreed to allow to Pompey whatever he ought to demand. He would have fifteen Lieutenant-Generals, at the head of whom he placed Cicero, as he was becoming in every thing another self with him, . These were his terms.

He thought of nothing more but the law, that he was to propose to the People. Here we shall see the artful ambition of Pompey. The Consuls prepared the scheme of a law, which gave him the general and supreme superintendence of provisions throughout the whole extent of the Empire for five years. This was enough. But a Tribune of the People, named Messius, presented another scheme, which added to that of the Consuls the free and absolute disposition of the Finances and public treasure: a fleet and an army; and, in some of the Provinces where Pompey was to go, an authority superior to that of the Proprætors or Proconsuls who governed them. "Our Consular law, says Cicero, seemed but " modest, that of Messius was insupportable; " Pompey said that he desired ours, and his " friends supported that of the Tribune." Cicero does not tell us which of the two laws passed: but Dio in comparing the command that was given to Pompey on this occasion with that with which he was invested in the Pyrates war, gives us reason to believe, that it was that of Messius, which was carried, agreeable to the secret wishes of Pompey. His power (a) after his return from the war with

(a) ὡς περ ἐν λιποθυμίας πυρῆτος ἢ ἀνελκόντος. Plut.
αὐτῷ μοιρανομένην τὴν δύνα- Pomp.
μιν ἀρχὴν καὶ πάλιν ἀναζω-

Mithridates diminished, and began to languish through inaction. He found it was now in his power to resume his former vigour by the means of this new command, which submitted to his authority the ports, the markets, the sale of grain, and in a word every thing that depended on navigation and labour.

As Cicero was the first promoter of this affair, it excited against him the complaints and murmurings of a part of the zealous defenders of liberty. "To whom would Cicero do this?" said they. Is he ignorant of the credit and esteem he enjoys; what services he has done his country; with what splendor and glory he was re-established? Why must he do

The murmurings of the rigid republicans against Cicero. His answer. Cic. pro Domo 27, 30.

such honour to the man by whom he was abandoned?" Cicero answered these reproaches with freedom, not disagreeing with them in the wrongs that Pompey had done him, but still protesting that he would never quit his alliance with him. "Let them cease," said he, to endeavour to weaken my condition after my re-establishment by the same methods which they took to overthrow me. "They have sown the seeds of division between Pompey and me, which they shall never do again. I know that I have been not only abandoned but given up. I am not ignorant of any thing that was done to destroy me; I say no more of it: but it would be ingratitude not to say, that I think myself indebted in a great measure to Pompey for my return; and that if the chiefs of the Senate equalled him in their zeal, he distinguished himself among them all by his power, by his efforts, by his prayers, and
"lastly

A. R. 695. "lastly by the dangers he exposed himself to
Ant. C. 57. "in my cause."

*Pompey re-
stores plen-
ty to Rome.*

*Cic. pro
Domo, n.
11.*

*Plut.
Pomp.*

As to the rest, there was no reason to be dissatisfied with the superintendance of provisions being intrusted to Pompey. He acquitted himself in this employment, as in all others, to the satisfaction and advantage of the Commonwealth. There had really been a great dearth in some of the Provinces from whence Rome drew her subsistence; in others the scarcity was owing to a bad administration; corn had been sent to other places in hopes of a better sale; or locked up on the first apprehension of its growing dear. Pompey sent his Lieutenants and his friends to all parts; and took upon himself the care of visiting the three granaries of Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, and the coast of Africa. He gathered together there a great quantity of provisions; and shewed so much ardour and activity to bring succour to Rome, that when he was ready to return thither with his soldiers, the wind being very high and threatening a storm, in so much that the Pilots made a difficulty to put off, he embarked the first, and ordered them to weigh anchor, saying: "There is a necessity for us to put to sea, but it is not necessary to live." His courage succeeded, he made a happy voyage, and by the good orders he knew how to give, the markets were stocked with corn and the sea covered with vessels. The plenty was such, that like a fruitful source, says Plutarch, there was not only a sufficient supply for the city; but it spread itself to all the neighbouring countries about.

It was not so easy to re-establish quiet in Rome, as it was to bring back plenty. The same

same confusion, and the same troubles continued to reign there, and Clodius was always the author of them. I have said, that he was accused by Milo of violences, and attempts against the public tranquillity. The ordinances of the Magistrates who favoured him, had only suspended, but not quashed, the proceedings. Milo would not give up the point: and Clodius had no way to escape but by getting himself chosen Ædile. The Ædileship once gained would serve him for a safeguard. For the same reason, Milo omitted nothing to prevent his being named to it: and as often as the Consul Metellus went about to hold the Assembly for proceeding to the election of Ædiles, Milo stopped him, by giving notice of some bad omen, which broke up the Assembly for that day. Clodius drove to extremes, became more and more furious, and sometimes was angry with Milo himself, and sometimes with Cicero.

A. R. 695.
Ant. C. 67.
The violences of
Clodius
against
Cicero and
Milo.
Cic. ad
Att. iv. 3.

On the 3d of November, a body of armed men, sent by him, drove away the artificers who were at work on the foundation of Cicero's house; they afterwards overthrew the Portico of Catulus, which the Consuls, authorized by a decree of the Senate, had ordered to be restored: Lastly, they attacked the house of Cicero's brother, and after they had broke the doors and windows with stones, they set fire to it, by order of Clodius, in view of the whole city.

On the 11th of November, was a new scene of Clodius's fury against the person of Cicero himself. When this last was coming down the street, called the Sacra Via, he found himself assaulted, on a sudden, by the party of his enemy. Dreadful cries and threatenings, a

A. R. 695.
Ant. C. 57.

shower of stones, sticks and swords, all proclaimed his extreme danger. Cicero retired into the porch of a neighbouring house, and, as he was well accompanied, his people supported the siege with such an advantage, that it was in his power to have slain Clodius. But (a) says he, "Chirurgical operations no longer pleased me, a regimen and soft remedies, were all I wanted." He was so much averse from shedding the blood of illustrious citizens, although it was of knaves, that he would not try the same fortune.

Clodius was not weary, The next day, the 12th of November, he came in broad daylight, an hour before noon, to attack one of the houses of Milo with men armed with swords and bucklers. Others carried lighted torches to set fire to it. He took for his camp a house in the neighbourhood, which belonged to P. Sylla, defended some years before by Cicero. He was repulsed: several of his attendants were killed on the spot: but for himself, he took care of his own safety.

Was Rome in this condition a city, or a field of battle? The brutal lives of the first men, such as the Poets describe them, before the establishment of laws and societies, was there ever any thing in them more savage? As I have already observed, a liberty, which produced such excesses, must soon come to an end, and give way to monarchical power.

The authority of the Senate could do nothing against such horrible disorders. They were often mentioned in the meetings of that

(a) Sed ego diætâ curam incipio; chirurgiæ jam tædet:
Cic. ad Att. iv. 13.

august Assembly, and Marcellinus, the Consul elect, always spoke thereon with vigour. He would have it, that the new violences committed by Clodius were comprised in the accusation intended against him, and that Judges should be named to decide that affair, before they proceeded to the election of Ædiles. All the fruits of the efforts both of the Senate and of Milo, was to keep off the nomination of Clodius for a while: but at length he carried it, and being chose Ædile, found himself in a condition to insult his accuser.

A. R. 695.

Ant. C. 57.

Cic. ibid.

& ad Q.

Fr. II. 1.

Clodius is

chose Æ-

dile.

Dio. L.

It was about this time, that the famous Lucullus died, in a manner deplorable in so great man, if it was not proper that we should know, that neither great talents nor great exploits can put us out of the reach of human miseries. He fell mad, either through sickness, or the effect of some liquor given him by one of his freed men. His brother, M. Lucullus became his guardian, and took upon him the administration of his estate and person. L. Lucullus did not live long in this sorrowful condition, which had not fully shewn itself till after the exile of Cicero. His death touched the People, and his funeral was celebrated with a great concourse and with great testimonies of esteem; in so much that the multitude would have him interred, as Sylla had been, in the Campus Martius. His brother had much difficulty to obtain leave to transport him to the place destined for his sepulture in the territory of Tusculum. M. Lucullus did not long survive him, but closely followed a brother whom he had always tenderly loved.

xxxix.

The death

of Lucul-

lus.

Plut. Luc.

I cannot finish the account of the events of this year, without speaking of Callidius, who

A character

of the

eloquence of

was Callidius.

A. R. 695.
Ant. C. 57.

*Treatise on
Studies,
T. II.
Of the elo-
quence of
the bar.*

was then Prætor, and who, after he had concurred with his Collegues in the re-establishment of Cicero, even pleaded with him before the Pontiffs, to obtain the restoration of his house. Callidius was an Orator, and M. Rollin, in his *Treatise on Studies*, has related what picture Cicero drew of his eloquence. But to avoid repetitions, I shall quote only one passage, but that says all. “If (a) the perfection of the art of speaking well, consists, says Cicero, in a sweet and charming stile, nothing can be desired more excellent than that of Callidius.” But force was entirely wanting to him: and Cicero took an occasion, when he pleaded against him, very artfully to give a proof, in his cause, of this defect of fire and vivacity in his adversary.

Callidius accused a certain man, named Q. Gallius, of a design of poisoning him, and had entered into a long detail of the proofs he pretended to have of this fact. He treated all, after his manner, with order, with eloquence, and in a florid stile, but without emotion or sentiment. Cicero, in answering him, employed at first the means the cause furnished him with, after which he added: “How (b) Callidius, if what you now relate to us was not

(a) Quod si optimum est suaviter dicere, nihil est quod melius hoc quærendum putes. *Cic. Bruto, n. 276.*

(b) Tu istuc, M. Callidi, nisi fingeres, sic ageres? præsertim quum istâ eloquentiâ alienorum hominum pericula defendere acerrimè soleas, tuum negligeres? Ubi dolor, ubi ardor animi, qui etiam

ex infantium ingenus elicere voces & querelas solet? nulla perturbatio animi, nulla corporis: frons non percussa, non femur: pedis, quod minimum est, nulla suppositio. Itaque tantum absuit ut inflammare nostros animos, somnum isto loco vix tenebamus. *Cic. Bruto, n. 278.*

“ a romance of your own composing, could
 “ you deliver it in so unassuming a manner?
 “ You are a great orator, and know how to be
 “ warm when you speak of the dangers of
 “ others: How then can you be so indifferent
 “ in your own? Where are the vehement com-
 “ plaints? Where is that force of sentiment,
 “ which makes even the meanest people elo-
 “ quent? Neither your mind, nor your body,
 “ seem to be moved, there is not to be seen
 “ in you any sign of indignation, or any ges-
 “ ture of grief: You are cold and languid;
 “ so that, far from being inflamed by your dis-
 “ course, we have much ado to forbear falling
 “ asleep.”

Such an Orator failed in the most essential part of his art, and very probably wanted that activity that was necessary to raise him in the Commonwealth. He stopt at the Prætorship, and could never arrive at being Consul.

During this year and the preceding, Cæsar had done great things in Gaul. I have not hitherto entered into a particular recital of them, that I might not interrupt the train of facts, and especially those relating to the exile and recalling of Cicero. But I am going now to take up what I had left in arrear.

BOOK THE FORTIETH.

**THE
ROMAN HISTORY.**

A SHORT description of Gaul, and manners of the Gauls. The two first campaigns of Cæsar in Gaul. The affair of the re-establishment of Ptolemy Auletes. A renewing of the confederation between Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus. The second Consulship of Pompey and Crassus. Years of Rome 694 to 698.

S E C T. I.

A preliminary reflection. The boundaries and division of Gaul. The difference between the Aquitani, the Belgæ, and the Celtæ. The Gauls made use of the Greek tongue in their acts. A multiplicity of people in Gaul forming one national body. Two factions divide all Gaul. Particular factions among each People, and in each Canton. Two distinguished and illustrious orders among the Gauls, the Druids, and the Nobles. The People accounted as nothing. The Druids were the Priests,
the

the Philosophers, the Poets, and the Judges of the Nation. The education of the Druids. The chief of the Druids. The general assemblies in the country of Chartaine or Chartres. The Nobles all fought on horseback. Continually employed in war. The form of their government Aristocratical. Silence imposed on private persons concerning the affairs of State. The barbarous customs of the Gauls. An aimable character of the Genius of the Gauls. Their valour. They want perseverance. Their levity. Their bodily advantages. The taste of the Gauls for magnificence. Much gold in Gaul. The trade. The Religion of the Gauls. Human victims. Their principal Divinities. The Hercules of the Gauls. The Gauls pretend to be the issue of the God of the dead. They begin their natural day at the setting of the Sun. Their domestic usages. Sons did not appear before their fathers in public, till they were of age to bear arms. Their marriages. Their funerals. The manners of the Gauls like those of the ancient people of Latium, described by Virgil. The glory of the arms of the Gauls. Caesar, hitherto a factious citizen, is beginning to be one of the greatest warriors. His glory effaces that of all the other Roman Generals. He makes himself adored by the soldiers, and animates them with his fire. Some wonderful passages on this subject. He knows how to reward with magnificence, and shew an example of the contempt of dangers and fatigues. The weakness of his constitution. His prodigious activity. The easiness and sweetness of his manners. Examples of them.

A PRELIMINARY REFLECTION.

*A preliminary
reflection.*

Cic. L. II.
de Or. n.
75.

I Confess that I am dismayed by the subject I am going to treat of; and being to give an account of the wars of Cæsar in Gaul, I am sensible how much such an undertaking is above my reach. It brings to my mind the story of that Philosopher, who having dared to make a discourse on the art of war before Hannibal, was looked upon by that General as a dotard, who was worthy only of contempt. It is true, the case which I am in is very different from that, in which this Philosopher had put himself. That was his own choice, and to set himself off before one of the greatest Captains that ever was in the world, he chose a subject he was not competent to: Whereas I find myself brought to a recital of the exploits of Cæsar, in the prosecution of my plan, and by the necessity of an engagement which hardly is free on my part. But I shall avoid speaking of my own head, and Cæsar himself shall be my guide, in all that I relate of his military conduct.

But to be able to follow such a guide, I know I ought to have lights, of which I am entirely destitute. As to his stile, he seems, by the simplicity (a) the easiness, and natural air of it, to render himself accessible to all his readers: But as to what regards the fundamental business, I do not deny but I shall have a difficulty to well understand it: How then

(a) Nudi sunt (Commentarii Cæsaris) recti, simplices, omni ornatu orationis,

tanquam veste, detracto. Cic. Bruto, n. 262.

shall I be able to represent it as it ought to be? Caesar perhaps never had a worthy interpreter, if it was not that great Prince, his rival in the glory of arms, who took a pleasure in Catalonia to study all the steps of the Roman General, and to observe upon the spot, how, by the advantage of posts, he constrained five legions and two experienced chiefs to lay down their arms without fighting. The Prince, in giving an account of a conduct of which he comprehended all the skill, because he was capable of giving examples of it, ravished all those who understood it: "And Or. Fun. never," says M. Bossuet, "did so great a de Mr. le master explain Caesar's Commentaries by so Prince. learned lessons."

All these reflections ought to make me renounce my design. Nevertheless, I hope that necessity may serve me for a justifiable excuse: And if any one of our warriors, who knows how to join the merit of letters to that of arms, shall interest himself enough in the success of my work, to make me acquainted with the faults I may commit, in speaking of a science I do not understand, I shall very readily make the best use I am able, of the advice he is pleased to give me.

Caesar's wars in the Gauls particularly concern us Frenchmen, who inhabit the country that was the theatre of them. And here the vanquished touch us more nearly than the conquerors. I therefore believe, that after I have shewn the more general boundaries and division of ancient Gaul, I shall not displease my readers, by giving them an account of the manners of the Gauls. I shall not, for that purpose, go into learned enquiries that are
above

above my capacity, and do not agree with the intent of this History. Caesar and Strabo will be the principal sources that I shall draw any aid from.

The boundaries and division of Gaul.

Cæs. de B. Gall. I. & VI. Strabo, L. IV.

The boundaries of Gaul were antiently more extended than those of France are at present. They took in all that is to be found between the Channel on the North, the Great Sea on the West, the Pyrenean mountains, and the gulph of Lyons on the South, and on the East, drawing towards the North, first the Alps, and then the Rhine to its mouth.

All this vast country seems to have been formerly divided into three very unequal parts: Aquitain between the Garonne and the Pyrenees; Belgia to the opposite extremity, between the Marne and the Seine on one part, and the Rhine on the other; and that large track which remained in the middle, and which extended from the Channel and the western Ocean, to the Mediterranean and the Alps, was what was called Celtica or Gaul, properly so named. For the inhabitants of this part, which alone was larger than the other two together, had no other name than the common name of the Nation, Celtæ or Gauls. This name was so properly their own, that Caesar never, or very rarely, gives it to the Aquitani or the Belge.

The Romans, a long time before Caesar, had detached from Celtica, and having subdued, as I have related, all the southern part along the sea, from the Alps to the Pyrenees, made a Roman province, or conquered country of it, which comprehended very near all that at present we call Provence and Languedoc.

Thus

BRITANNIA

A MAP OF GAUL

*In the Condition it was at the Time
of the Conquest of it by CÆSAR,*

For the Roman History of
M^R CREVIER,

By the Sieur D'ANVILLE.



TO render this MAP the more complete several Towns or People among the Gauls, and their Capital Cities, altho' not mentioned in Caesar's Commentaries but at the same time, judged convenient, are inserted here; and distinguished by an *.

Some Capitals whose Names were given them in Honour of Augustus, which could not be written in the Map it self, have Figures joined to them of which the following is an Explanation.

- 1 Aquæ Augustæ Tarbellicæ.
- 2 Augustoritum.
- 3 Caesarodunum.
- 4 Juliamagus.
- 5 Juliobona.
- 6 Augusta Verom.
- 7 Augustobona.
- 8 Augusta Trever.
- 9 Augusta Raurac.

Some of these Cities which are the same under other Names.

- 10 Augustodunum.
- 11 Augustonemetum.
- 12 Caesaromagus.
- 13 Augusta Sueb.
- 14 Augusta Ause.



Thus from the time of Caesar Gaul had four parts, that is to say, the Roman Province, Celtica, Aquitain, and Belgia. In the description that we are going to give of the manners of the Gauls, we shall not consider the Roman Province, who had already accommodated themselves to the customs and manner of living of their Conquerors.

The Manners of the GAULS.

Among the three other parts there were remarkable differences. The Aquitani, the neighbours of the Spaniards, resembled them, both in their outward appearance, and in their characters. The Belgæ, who bordered on the Germans, and who were always at war with them, imitated their ferocity. They were the most brave of all the Gauls, and knew neither pleasures nor voluptuousness, from the contagion of which their distance from the Roman Province had secured them. The Celtæ, having the Romans near them, and moreover being richer than the other, and carrying on a greater trade, began to be softened, and to lose at least part of the antient fierceness of the Gauls. Caesar, to these differences, adds that of languages: But those among the moderns, who have searched deepest into that business, pretend, on the contrary, that there was but one common language, not only among all the inhabitants of Gaul, but among all the people of original Celtica; which, besides the Gauls, comprehended the Germans, the Illyrians, the Spaniards, and they do not admit among the languages of all these people but the

The manners of the Gauls. The difference between the Aquitani, the Belgæ, and the Celtæ.

the diversity of dialects. I do not enter into this dispute.

The Gauls made use of the Greek language in their acts.

Cæs. de B. G. VI. 14. & I. 29.

But one singularity, which I think I ought not to omit taking notice of, is that the Gauls, in the time of Cæsar, made use of Greek letters in their public and private acts: and he reports, that having taken the camp of the Helvetii, he found in it a register wrote in Greek letters, which contained a list of all those who had gone out of their country to seek an establishment elsewhere, men, women, and children. I make use of the expression Greek letters, because it is that of Cæsar, and which has given room for a double interpretation.

Some think that it relates only to the characters, and that these acts were wrote in the Gaulish or Celtic language, but with Greek letters. They support this opinion, by shewing, that it appears as if the Greek tongue was not known among the Gauls. First, because Divitiacus, a celebrated Druid, does not confer with Cæsar, but by the help of an interpreter; whereas Cæsar understood and spoke the Greek perfectly well. In the second place, Q. Cicero being straitly pressed by the Nervii*, Cæsar, who was desirous to give him an immediate succour, wrote to him in Greek, that if his letter should be intercepted it might not be understood, a manifest proof that the Gauls did not understand the Greek.

Id. ibid. I. 19.

V. 48.

But, on the other hand, it must be confessed, that Cæsar's expression was very ambiguous, and very deceitful, if he would speak of Celtic words wrote in Greek characters: And

* People who inhabited Cambresy, Hainault, and part of Flanders.

Strabo, after saying that Marseilles was a school, where the Gauls sent their children, adds, that in consequence of this the Gauls were polished, and became admirers of the Greeks, and (a) that they prepared their acts in Greek: an expression beyond all ambiguity.

It seems therefore indubitable, that the use of the Greek language, introduced by the Marseillois, was received in Gaul, but only in their acts, in their ordinary commerce they made use of the language of the country. This being so, it is not at all surprizing, that a Druid should not be able to maintain a conversation in Greek. And as to the letter wrote by Cæsar to Q. Cicero, it was in the northern extremity of Gaul that the thing happened: therefore it is very probable, since Marseilles first taught the Greek language to the Gauls, that that knowledge extended itself only to the neighbouring countries, or at most to those not far distant, and that it had not penetrated into the North of Gaul, the inhabitants of which preserved to that time all their ferocity.

Each of the three great parts of Gaul comprehended several people, who had their Magistrates, their Senates and their Chiefs. But all these people, nevertheless, formed together a national body, they had general assemblies, and united themselves in their common affairs.

A multiplicity of people in Gaul forming one national body.

In so vast a body composed of so many parts, it is not to be wondered that factions should arise. There were two subsisting in general, which divided the whole Nation. At the head of one were the Edueni, antient allies of the Romans: The other had for their chiefs,

Two factions divided all Gaul.

(a) ὅτι καὶ τὰ συμβόλαια Ἑλληνιστὶ γράφοντο.

sometimes

Sometimes the Arverni, sometimes the Sequani, and lastly, from the entrance of Cæsar into Gaul, the Rhemi. For Cæsar took a good deal of care not to extinguish these factions, which prevented the Gauls from easily uniting their forces; and after he had destroyed the power of the Sequani, he favoured the growth of that of the Rhemi, who substituted themselves in their place, shewing himself altogether as well satisfied with those who ranged themselves on the side of these new chiefs, as with those who continued attached to the Edueni.

Particular factions among each people, and in each canton. The same spirit of faction, which divided Gaul in general, divided also each people, each canton, and almost each family. He had parties there throughout the whole, and chiefs of parties, who were always chosen from among the most powerful and the most esteemed, to be supreme arbiters of affairs, and protectors of the weak. For Cæsar thought that this practice was not introduced of itself, but had been established with design, that those who were not in a condition to defend themselves from oppression by their own strength, might never want assistance and support. These Chiefs always took in hand the causes of their Clients, and if they failed therein, they were disgraced, and lost all their authority.

Two distinguished and illustrious orders among the Gauls: The Druids, and the Nobles. The People accounted as nothing. The common people of Gaul were almost all in bondage; they were looked upon as nothing, and never admitted into any public deliberations. Oftentimes those among them, who found themselves reduced to poverty, made themselves slaves to some great man, who thus became their master, and treated them accordingly. All distinctions, all honours, all power,

power, were included in the two orders of Druids and Cavaliers, who, for the greater clearness, I shall call Nobles. Thus the ancient state of Gaul much resembled the present state of Poland, where the Peasants are slaves, the middling People very little considered, and where the Churchmen and the Nobles enjoy alone, to speak properly, the privileges of citizens, and compose the Commonwealth.

Religion was the province of the Druids, *The Druids were the Priests, the Philosophers, the Poets and the Judges of the Nation.* and all those offices which required knowledge. They were the Priests, the Philosophers, the Poets and the Judges of the Nation. Strabo distinguished them thus, the Bards who were the Poets; the (a) Eubages, Sacrificers; and the Druids, moral Philosophers. But these three orders seem to make one body together, and were all included in the common denomination of Druids.

Their Ministry was employed in all sacrifices public and private. Divination, which they carried, if we may believe Pliny, even to magic, all that belonged to the worship of the gods, all the confused remains of natural religion, or what error abusing the name of religion, has made regarded as sacred, were under their jurisdiction.

Their verses were either moral or theological poetry, which contained instructions for their pupils; or Panegyrics upon the ancient heroes of the Nation; or lastly, as poetry was always a business of adulation, the bards sung

(a) The text of Strabo has wrote Ουάγυς. The name of Eubages is found in Ammianus Marcellinus, L. XV.

Vol. IX.
L. xxviii.

the glories of the Kings or great men who took them into their retinue. Of this we have seen an example in the embassy sent by Bituitus King of the Arverni to the Consul Domitius.

Their philosophy was not confined to morality only, but raised itself to the study of nature. Cæsar, without entering into any detail of it, tells us, that they discoursed much of the stars, and their motions; of the largeness of the earth, and even of the whole world; of the nature and power of the gods. But none of their philosophical opinions is better known to us than that of the immortality of the soul, of which they believed a successive transmigration in different bodies, pretty near the same as taught by Pythagoras. They spread this doctrine among the people, as a powerful incentive to animate their virtue, and inspire them with a contempt of death.

Lastly, it was in the Druids that the power of the Judicature resided. They judged of all public and private quarrels: They oftentimes decided on war and peace between the cities. Criminal affairs, especially that of murder, processes on account of succession, for the limits of an inheritance, or the territories of a people, were brought before their tribunal. And they armed the authority of their judgments with that of religion, of which they were the Ministers; so that if any private person, or even a whole people refused to submit to it, they pronounced against the refractory a kind of sentence of excommunication, which made those upon whom it was passed, to be looked upon as profane persons, with whom no one would have any commerce, and who were deprived of all the rights of society.

It

It may be easily conceived, by what we have been saying, that the Druids were extremely considerable. To which, if it be added, that they were exempt from going to war, or paying tributes, it will not be surprizing that men pressed to enter into their body: But to be admitted, they must have been brought up to it, by them, from their youth. Their manner of instructing was to make their disciples learn a prodigious number of verses, and they sometimes spent twenty years in this exercise: For they wrote nothing, without doubt, in consequence of a principle common to all false religions, and to all philosophical sects, to hold the mysteries of their doctrine in secrecy, and to make themselves admired by the vulgar, by keeping them in ignorance.

The Druids had a chief chosen from among themselves, and by themselves, who could not fail of being a person of great importance: Therefore when this place became vacant, it so strongly inflamed the desires of the ambitious, that it was oftentimes the occasion of a war.

They held their general assemblies at a certain time of the year, in the country of Chartraine, which was looked upon as the middle or heart of Gaul. Thither all grand affairs were brought and judged.

With the Druids, another order, as we have said, divided all the power, and all honours of the Gaulic Nation. These were the Nobles, Cæsar calls them *Cavaliers*; without doubt because they all fought on horseback, as at this time the Polish Nobility do, and as formerly among us, those whom our ancestors called *men of arms*. The Gaulic cavalry was excellent: The Romans drew great service from it,

after the conquest of the country, and they never had any better in their armies. War was the proper function of these Nobles, and they had occasion to make it every year, because there were always quarrels between one people and another. They brought their Clients with them, and those who had the greatest number about them, were the most respected.

*The form of
their go-
vernment
aristocra-
tical.*

The civil government was also in the hands of this Nobility, for the aristocratical form was that most used among the people of Gaul. They chose themselves every year a supreme Magistrate for their affairs at home, and a General to conduct them to the war.

*Silence im-
posed on
private
persons con-
cerning the
affairs of
State.*

The wisest and best governed of these little Republics had a practice very well understood : That was that silence was imposed on private persons with regard to the affairs of state. If any one had learned any news of his neighbours concerning the Commonwealth, he went to inform the Magistrates of it ; but was forbid to acquaint any others with it. This practice was founded upon what they had observed, that oftentimes flying reports, and even those that were false, excited movements, and occasioned alarms, which were attended with very bad consequences. For this reason it was not permitted to any one to speak of public affairs, but in the Assemblies which were held to deliberate upon them.

*The barba-
rous cus-
toms of the
Gauls.*

All the Gaulic Nation were warriors, except the Druids. They employed themselves very little in cultivating the earth, although it was very fertile, living chiefly by hunting, and the flesh of their cattle. They strengthened their bodies by this hard sort of life, and by these violent exercises : and they took to it very ear-
ly,

ly, if we may attribute to the whole nation what several authors * have reported of the Celtæ neighbours of the Rhine, that they went into the river to wash their children when just born, to harden them against cold in the first moments of life.

From thence that ferocity, with which they have been reproached by all the Greek and Roman authors; and although these writers do not at all times merit belief, yet here incontestable facts are witnesses for them. To fight naked to their wastes, is a bravade that agrees only with barbarians. Nothing was more contrary and shocking to humanity, than their custom of carrying before the chests of their horses the heads of their enemies slain in battle, which they afterwards fastened to the gates of their cities. They were not content with this, when it was some King, or illustrious Chief in the war, whom they had vanquished and slain, they took the skull, and washing it, tipped it with gold, and made use of it as a vessel, for their Priests to drink out of, or make their libations on solemn days.

The Romans and Greeks thought the custom was still more strange, for the Gauls to go armed to their Assemblies and common deliberations. Strabo relates a very singular method they had to keep silence. If any one improperly disturbed the person who spoke in the Assembly, an Apparitor went, with his sword drawn, to the troublesome man, and, with menaces, ordered him to hold his tongue. He

* *The testimonies of these Authors have been collected together by Lacorda, in his Commentaries on Virgil, Æn. IX. V. 603.*

repeated this prohibition twice or thrice, if there was need of it: but if the person on whom he would impose silence, continued obstinate, he cut away one half of his cassack with his sword, so that the rest became useless, and could make but a very ridiculous garb.

Cæf. de B. It is impossible also not to condemn the barbarity of that custom they had, to put to death, with the most cruel torments, the person who came last, to the general convocation of all the young men, who were summoned to take arms. I do not speak here of the sacrifices of human victims, because this kind of horror was common to all the Pagan Nations, even the best governed.

An amiable character of the genius of the Gauls.

All these passages, and several others that might be easily added to them, prove, in my opinion, that it was not unjustly that the Gauls of those antient times have been treated as Barbarians. This does not hinder but that they had some amiable qualities. Freedom, candour, a hatred of all oblique and sinister arts, and an exalted courage, that made them desirous to conquer by force and not by craft. There wanted but a little cultivation to make them become comparable, by the softness of their manners, as they were in valour and military resolution, to other nations the most renowned, and whose glory was the most resplendent.

Their valour.

For as to their valour it was natural to them, and we may well suppose their manner of living was likely to nourish and inflame it. Thus the earth was filled with their exploits, and their armed Colonies made great settlements in Italy, Germany, upon the banks of the Danube, and even in Asia Minor.

However,

However it is difficult not to allow, that they wanted one essential quality for war; I mean ^{*They wanted perseverance.*} perseverance in supporting fatigues. In hot countries (a) even their bodies, accustomed to moisture and cold, could not support themselves, and their courage felt the effects of this weakness. All the world knows the saying of Titus Livy, "that the Gauls in the beginning of an action were more than men, and at the end of it less than women." For this reason they were very unfit to undertake sieges: a laborious operation, which oftentimes required a length of time. No dangers affrighted them, but the labour disgusted them.

Another considerable obstacle to their success ^{*Their levity.*} in war, was the facility, with which they sometimes conceived rash and presumptuous hopes, at the first appearance of good fortune, and their suffering themselves to be immediately dejected as soon as they met with the least disappointment. This levity, which was common to all the barbarous nations, gave a great advantage to the People over them, who were better cultivated, and whom education, reflection, and the instructions of the wise, had taught to be more masters of themselves, and not to deliver themselves up entirely to the impressions of good fortune or a reverse of it.

All antiquity has boasted of the bodily ^{*Advantages of body.*} advantages of the Gauls; their tall stature, their large brown locks, blue eyes, white skin, and withal something martial in their physiognomies. These marks of resemblance were seen

(a) Gallorum—corpora intolerantissima laboris atque zélus fluere; primaque eorum prælia plusquam virorum, postrema minus quam seminarum esse. T. L. X. 28.

The Manners of the GAULS.

in them all, because confined within themselves, they went not to seek marriages among other people : so that the national air preserved itself having no mixture of foreign blood in it : and they improved their good mien by the magnificence of their dress. The rich and great men of the nation wore shining stuffs of the most lively colours, splendid with a profusion of gold. They had golden gorgets, and bracelets of the same metal. In general they set a great value on gold, and were very covetous of it. But it is well enough known, that this manner of thinking was not peculiar to them.

*The taste of
the Gauls
for magni-
ficence.*

*Much gold
in Gaul.
Vol. IX.*

There must needs have been a vast quantity of this precious metal in the two Gauls. It may be remembered here what we have related concerning the riches of King Luerius ; and of those treasures sunk in many places, in the lakes and morasses. It is very certain that the spoil of Gaul brought prodigious sums to Cæsar. From whence all their gold came is not easy to determine : but it is not to be doubted but a great trade was carried on in the two Gauls, and Strabo observes, that the convenience of the two seas, and the navigable rivers, which fell one into the other, or were but at a small distance, made the transportation of merchandizes extremely easy.

The trade.

*The religion of the
Gauls.
Human
victims.*

As to what concerned religion, the Gauls were superlatively superstitious. Cæsar does not relate any thing upon this subject very circumstantially, only that in their abominable sacrifices they caused men to be destroyed to appease, as they imagined, the wrath of their deities, whilst they really satisfied the implacable rage of Dæmons against mankind. These
horrible

horrible impieties made a part of their public worship; and private persons moreover, when they found themselves in any danger, either through sickness or otherwise, made vows to sacrifice human victims, persuaded as they were, that the life of one man could be only redeemed by that of another.

The ceremony used in sacrificing these unhappy victims was not always the same. Sometimes they plunged a sword into the back of the person whom they devoted to the wrath of their gods, and by the palpitations of the dying victim pretended to divine or foretell what was to come. They pierced others with arrows, or fastened them to crosses. But their most solemn manner was to prepare a Colossus of osier twigs, in which they inclosed living men, with cattle, and savage beasts, which they afterwards set fire to, and so consumed men and beasts in the flames. However there remained enough of the light of nature in them, to choose, as well as they could, criminal persons, and to believe that these sorts of victims, who had deserved death by their crimes, would be the most agreeable to their gods. But for want of criminals, they made no scruple to sacrifice the innocent. When we represent such horrors committed in the country that we inhabit, what acknowledgments do we owe to the Christian Religion, which has delivered us from so frightful a blindness!

The Romans, when they became masters of Gaul, were willing to abolish these sacrifices, the disgrace of humanity. But were they worthy reformers of an abuse that they practised themselves? Christianity alone has had the

glory of putting an end to this cruel and impious worship wherever that has prevailed.

Their principal deities.

The principal deities adored by the Gauls were, according to Cæsar, Mercury, Apollo, Mars, Jupiter and Minerva. That is not to say, that they antiently knew these names, which were either Greek or Roman. But they adored, under Gaulic names, deities to whom they attributed the same functions, that, among the Greeks and Romans, were the appendages of Mercury, Apollo, and the others we have named. *Teutates* was their Mercury. They looked upon this God as the inventor of arts, the protector of trade, and all the ways of getting money. They made him also preside over the highways, and he was invoked by travellers. *Hésus*, among the Gauls, was the god of war; *Taranis*, the god of heaven; *Bélénus*, the god of physic. I do not find a Gaulic name answering to that of Minerva; but they honoured a goddess who presided over works in which thread or wool was employed.

In a nation devoted to arms, the god of war could not but be extremely revered. Commonly when they took a resolution to fight, they consecrated to him all they took from the enemy; and after a victory they sacrificed every thing that had life, and the rest they piled up in heaps. In the time of Cæsar several of these piles were to be seen in different districts; and he says it was rare, that any person was found who dared steal from them, or hide any part in their houses. If such a thing happened the person culpable was punished in the most rigorous manner.

The Hercules of the Gauls.

Lucian tells us of another god honoured by the Gauls, which is not named by Cæsar. This is

is the Gaulic Hercules, who in the Celtic tongue was called *Ogmios*. The attributes with which they represented this deity, had something very singular, and, at the same time, very ingenious in them. He was a true Hercules with the club, the lion's skin, the quiver and arrows. But (a) they gave him the form of an old man, and he drew to him a great multitude of men who were fastened by the ears. Their bands were chains of tissue wrought with gold, and a metal which was thought still more precious with an infinite delicacy, and resembling the finest and most magnificent collars. However, adds Lucian, although their chains were so weak, and they might easily have got away, yet they did not seem so much as to think of it. They made no resistance; but, on the contrary, followed their conqueror with an air of gaiety and satisfaction: they seemed to praise him, and would run before him, so that their chains became loose, and one would imagine that they would have been sorry to have been set at liberty. The point from whence these chains proceeded was the tongue of the god, which was bored through at the end.

It is easy to perceive that this was an emblem of eloquence, the force of which is invincible,

(a) Ο γάρων Ηραχλῆς ἐκεί-
νῳ ἀνδρῶπων πάμπολὺ τι
πληθὺς ἔλκει, ἐκ τῶν ὧτων ἅ-
παντας διδιδυμένους· διδυμένα δὲ
ἔσιν οἱ, σιμῖα ληπτὰ χρυσῷ
ἢ ἡλέκτρῳ ἐργασμέναι, ὁμοῖς
ἐοικυῖαι τοῖς καλλίστοις, ὁμοῖς
δὲ ἀφ' ὧτων ἀσθενῶν ἀγόμενοι,
ὥστε δρασμῶν· βυλιωσσι, δυνά-
μινος ἂν ευμαρῶς ἔτι ὅλως

ἀντιτινύσθω — ἀλλὰ φαιδροὶ
ἔπονται καὶ γιγνῶσσι, καὶ τὸν
ἀγόντα ἐπαινῶντες, ἐπιγόμε-
νοι ἅπαντες, καὶ τῷ φθάνειν ἱ-
δέσθαι τὸν διδυμῶν ἐπιχαλῶν-
τες, ἐοικότες ἀχθισθησομένοις
εἰ λυθήσονται — ὁ ζῶγραφο-
τρύπησας τῷ θεῷ τὴν γλῶτταν,
ἐξ ἡκίτης ἐλκομένους αὐτὰς ἱ-
ποίησι. Lucian Herc. Gall.

but

but operates nevertheless with so much sweetness, that it charms even those over whom it gains the victory. They painted the god with the features of old age, because years (a) mellow the dignity of stile, as well as that of the manners. I confess all this idea seems to me too ingenious to determine me easily to give the credit of it to those antient Gauls, the lovers of violence, and who boasted to carry their law on the points of their swords. I readily believe that the Gaulic Hercules, at least such as it is described by Lucian, is posterior to Cæsar, and was not contrived till after the Romans had introduced a taste for the fine arts and eloquence into Gaul.

The Gauls pretend to be the issue of the god of the dead. They begin their natural day at the setting of the sun.

Cæsar farther makes mention of the god of the dead and of hell, as known among the Gauls: and they pretended even to have issued from him, which means no more, according to the observation of a learned and judicious interpreter, than that they looked upon themselves as *Autochtones*, that is to say, born in the country itself that they inhabited. Cæsar adds, that in consequence of this original which the Gauls attributed to themselves, they seemed to be willing to honour darkness, by reckoning the spaces of time by nights and not by days. But the same interpreter observes, that this practice of including the day between two settings of the sun, so that the night goes first, was not peculiar to the Gauls, and that it was received not only among the Germans their neighbours and their brothers, but among the Athenians, and among the Jews.

(a) *Diserti senis compta & mitis oratio. Cic.*

It

It remains for us to give an account of some ^{*Their domestic*} of Cæsar's remarks on the domestic conduct of the Gauls. Sons never accompanied their fathers, till they were of age to bear arms. ^{*usages. Sons did not appear before their fathers in public, till they were of age to bear arms.*} Till then it was looked upon as disgraceful for a son, whilst a child, to be seen in public by the side of his father. This nation was so possessed with the love of war, that they esteemed nothing but with regard to this one object. And if it was allowed to fathers to give way to the sentiments of nature in their houses, they were not willing, that they should seem publicly to reckon their family as any thing, but as they were capable of serving the state in their battles.

Poligamy was in use among them, at least ^{*Their marriages.*} among the nobles and great men. Their marriages were very fruitful, which came, without doubt, from the simple and laborious life the men and women led; from thence that prodigious multiplication, which obliged them, from time to time, to detach swarms who went to seek their fortune elsewhere, because the too great number of inhabitants overburthened a land, which was perhaps one of the most fertile of the whole world.

When they married, they took from their land a portion equal to the fortune brought by the woman; the two shares being thus united were possessed in common, they served the couple in common, and they took care to preserve and gather together the fruits of them. After the death of one, the survivor remained sole proprietor, both of the principal stock and what had been saved by it.

The women were kept in a great dependence. Their husbands had over them the right

right of life and death, as fathers over their children: And when any illustrious man died, his relations assembled, and upon the least suspicion that his wives had contributed to his death, they caused them to be put to the torture like slaves. If they were found culpable, iron and fire were employed to torment and destroy them.

Their funerals.

The funerals of the rich and great were celebrated with great magnificence. The custom was to burn the dead, and with them all that had been agreeable to them in their life-time, even to their animals: And not long before the time of Cæsar, they placed upon the funeral pile of him, whose obsequies they performed, his slaves and clients that were the most valued by him, and consumed them in the same flames.

The manners of the Gauls like those of the antient people of Latium, described by Virgil.

I think I cannot better conclude this description of the manners of the Gauls, than by a place in Virgil parallel to it, where that great poet, in shewing the customs and kind of life of the antient inhabitants of Latium, will bring before the reader the greatest part of those strokes by which Cæsar and Strabo have painted the Gauls, especially with regard to their fierceness, their rudeness and their taste for war. “ We (a) are a Nation, says Rutu-

- (a) Durum ab stirpe genus: natos ad flumina primum
Deferimus, sævoque gelu duramus & undis.
Venatu invigilant pueri, sylvasque fatigant.
Flectere iutus equos & spicula tendere cornu.
At patiens operum pavoque assueta Juventus
Aut rastris terram domat, aut quatit oppida bello.
Omne ævum ferro teritur, versâque juvenctum
Terga fatigamus hastâ: nec tarda senectus
Debilitat vires animi mutatque vigorem.
Canitiem galeâ premimus: semperque recentes
Convectare juvat prædas, & vivere rapto.

Virgil. Æn. IX. 603—613.

“ *lus*

“ lus Numanus, robust and indefatigable from
“ our first origine, As soon as our children
“ are born, we plunge them in the rivers, and
“ harden them against the cold of the waters
“ and the ice. They are hardly able to go
“ before we employ them in hunting, and
“ teach them to make war with the inhabi-
“ tants of the forests. To break horses, and
“ draw the bow ; these are the sports of their
“ infancy. Our youth, laborious and accus-
“ tomed to live on little, know but two ex-
“ ercises, to cultivate the land, and assail the
“ towns of their enemies. All our life passes
“ in handling iron, and it is with the points of
“ our spears that we prick our oxen yoked to
“ the plough. Cold and slothful old age al-
“ ters nothing of the strength of our bodies,
“ or the vigour of our courage. We cover
“ our hairs when grey with a helmet ; and our
“ glory as well as delight is, to run without
“ ceasing always after fresh booty, and to live
“ upon plunder.”

These antient manners of Latium, which *The glory*
very probably, in the first ages, were those of *of the arms*
all the people of Europe, were proper to form *of the*
soldiers. It is not surprizing that the Gauls, *Gauls.*
who always preserved them, should render
themselves formidable to all Nations, and es-
pecially to the Romans. It is known that the
Senones took Rome, and after that event the
terror of the Gaulic name was so great among
the Romans, that in their wars with that Na-
tion all privilege ceased, and no one was ex-
empt from taking arms ; and, moreover, they
kept in their Treasury sums of gold and silver,
which was forbid to be touched, unless there
happened a war with Gaul. Cicero also, speak-
ing

Cic. de ing in full Senate, makes no difficulty to avow,
 Har. Resp. that the Romans could gain nothing over the
 19. & de Gauls by strength of body and courage, and
 Prov. that they ought always to be contented with
 Conf. 32. keeping upon the defensive with them. It
 was this powerful and warlike nation that Cæsar
 undertook to subdue: it wanted nothing less
 than all the merit of the greatest warrior that
 Rome had ever produced, to finish this design
 in eight campaigns.

Cæsar hitherto a factious citizen, is beginning to be one of the greatest warriors. Cæsar is therefore now going to appear in a light very different from that in which he has hitherto shewn himself. This factious, this intriguing, this man always engaged with the worst party, always an enemy to the best citizens, is going to become a warrior, whose sublime merit will efface all the heroes of passed ages, and be the despair of those who shall follow him. The superiority of his genius, which embraced every talent, wanted only opportunities to shew itself in every kind. The same spirit animated all his designs. The same ambition that employed him in intrigues, carried him to war. He divided himself between these two objects the whole time that he spent in the conquest of Gaul, and after having passed the best season of the year in fighting, in the winter, he approached again towards Rome to manage as he had always done.

His glory effaces that of all the other Roman Generals. But in considering him only here with respect to arms, it is not to be doubted but that his glory, as I have already said, surpassed that of all the other Roman Generals that ever were. If we compare to him, says Plutarch, the Scipio's, and the Fabius's, the Marius's and the Sylla's, and lastly Pompey, whose fame was exalted to the sky, it will be found, that

that they must be all obliged to yield the pre-eminence to Cæsar. He carries it from one by the difficulty of the places where he made war, from another by the largeness of the country that he conquered; from this by the number and courage of the enemies he subdued; from that by the ferocity and infidelity of the minds and characters of those whom he softened and polished; from some by the clemency he used towards the vanquished, from others by the largesses he bestowed upon his soldiers; and from them all by the number of battles he gained, and of enemies that he had slain. For in his eight campaigns he took eight hundred towns, subdued three hundred nations; and having fought in different actions with three millions of men, had killed one million, and made an equal number prisoners.

Pliny adds to this detail, that Cæsar fought fifty pitched battles, and makes the number of enemies killed by him to be eleven hundred, fourscore and twelve thousand men, not taking into the account those who perished in the civil wars, upon which he had good reason to observe, that (a) so terrible a destruction of mankind ought not to be made a subject of Cæsar's glory, even though necessity could excuse the victor.

Among the military talents of Cæsar, one of those the most worthy of praise, was that he had not only made himself beloved by the soldiers, even to adoration, but had inspired them with all his fire, and all the nobleness of his sentiments. It was said that he had transformed

He makes himself adored by the soldiers, and animates them by his fire.

(a) Non equidem in gloria posuerim tantum, etiam coactam, humani generis injuriam. *Plin. vii. 25.*

them all to heroes. The passage may be remembered that I related of P. Scéva, at the time that Cæsar commanded in Lusitania. Plutarch furnishes us here with three other facts of the like kind, which all belonged to the civil wars.

Some wonderful passages on this subject.

Suet. Cæs. c. 68.
Val. Max. III. 2.

In a naval fight near Marseilles a soldier, named Acilius, had his right hand cut off, whilst he supported himself on the poop of an enemy's ship: nevertheless he jumped into it, and continued fighting with his buckler, which he constantly held in his left, and contributed not a little to the taking the ship, by an example of such heroic courage.

The action of a Centurion in a battle near Dyrrachium in Epirus, seems no less a prodigy. This Centurion who is named M. Cæsius, by Val. Max. III. 2. Valerius Maximus, and Sceva by Lucian, had had one of his eyes torn out by an arrow, his shoulder and his thigh pierced by two javelins, and had received an hundred and thirty strokes on his buckler, as well from the sword as from darts thrown at a distance. In this condition he called two of the enemy as it were to surrender himself; but when they approached, reckoning themselves very secure from the situation in which they saw him, Cæsius cleaved down the shoulder of one by a stroke of his sword, overthrew the other by striking him in the face with his buckler, and saved himself by the assistance of some of his own People, who came to his succour.

Upon the coasts of Lybia one of Cæsar's ships, which carried some soldiers with Granius, the Quæstor designed, was taken by Metellus Scipio. All were put to the sword, except the Quæstor, to whom they offered his life:

but

but he refused it. *The soldiers of Cæsar, said he, are used to give life, and not to take it: and in saying these words he fell upon his sword.*

It is to Cæsar that the chief glory of these generous actions of those who served under him, is to be attributed; because it was he who excited and nourished in them the sentiments that rendered them capable of them. For this he made use of two means. The first was to reward with magnificence; and his soldiers saw, that if he gathered riches together, it was not to satisfy his own luxury, nor his own pleasures: they were only, properly speaking, deposited in his hands, as the prizes destined for valour. He had no other share in these treasures, than to be the distributor to those who had shewn themselves worthy of them. The second means, not less efficacious, was that he set an example to every one, and that there was no danger he would not expose himself to if there was need of it, nor any fatigue that he would not undergo.

His intrepidity in dangers was not what was the most astonishing. But it is hardly to be conceived, how he could gain so much upon the natural temperament of his body as to be able to bear all sorts of labour. For his health was very delicate, which sufficiently shewed itself in his countenance, having a very pale complexion and an air of weakness. He was subject to frequent pains in the head, and even to attacks from the falling sickness. (a) Never-

(a) Ὁ μαλακίας ἐποίησεν τὴν ἀρρώστιαν πρόφασιν, ἀλλὰ θρασυῖαν τὴν ἀρρώστιαν τὴν κραδίαν, ταῖς ἀνθρώποις ὀδυποροῖαις, καὶ ταῖς ἐνδολεῖαις, δικταῖς, καὶ τῷ θανάτῳ, ἀπομαχόμενος τῷ πόντῳ, καὶ τὸ σῶμα φερόντων δυσάλωτον. Plut.

theless he did not make his ill health a pretext to give himself up to softness, but he was willing to make the war serve for a remedy to his ill health. He combated his illness by painful marches, by a simple and sparing life, and by passing the nights in the open air. He accustomed himself most times to sleep in a post-chaise, converting into action even the hours he was forced to take his repose in. When he marched by day, he had seated with him in his chaise a Secretary used to write what he dictated all along the journey, and behind him a soldier. This was all his retinue. Active to a prodigy, and not knowing what it was ever to lose a moment, he would not embarrass himself with equipages, which must necessarily have hindered him.

His prodigious activity.

This (a) vivacity comparable to fire and lightning, this spirit always upon the stretch, and whose springs were perpetually in action, was one of the most remarkable parts of Cæsar's character. It was sufficient for all things at once. It is affirmed that he has been seen writing or reading, and at the same time dictating to a Secretary, and giving audience to those who came to speak to him. As to his letters, which turned, as it is easy to judge, on affairs of the greatest importance, when he employed himself only on them, he dictated four at a time to four different Secretaries. It is therefore with reason that Pliny (b) looks upon him of all men as one who had the greatest force, and greatest extent of mind at the same time.

(a) Celeritatem quodam igne volucrem. *Plin. vii. 25.*

(b) Animi vigore præstantissimum arbitror genitum Cæsarium Dictatorem.

He joined to this an easiness and sweetness <sup>The easi-
ness and
sweetness
of his man-
ners. Ex-
amples of
them.</sup> of manners, that rendered him infinitely aim-
able. In a banquet that one of his hosts gave
him at Milan, they had served up asparagus on
which perfume had been put instead of oil;
Cæsar eat of them alone; and as his friends,
who were more delicate than he was, shewed
their disgust, he reprimanded them. *It is suf-
ficient, said he, not to eat of what displeases us,
To shew our defect in not knowing how to live on
the like occasion, is being wanting to ones-self.*

One day when he was upon a march, a storm
and very bad weather forced him to take shel-
ter in a cottage, where there was but one cham-
ber to be found, scarce large enough for one
man. Cæsar upon this said to his friends who
accompanied him, that the distinctions of ho-
nour belonged to those of the first rank, but
the necessary conveniences of life were for the
weakest. He therefore forced Oppius, who
was indisposed, to take the chamber, and for
himself, he passed the night with others under
the porch of the house. Who could have been
compared to Cæsar, if to so many excellent
qualities, he had added a respect to justice and
the love of virtue?

This picture of Cæsar from facts, will be
confirmed by all the sequel of his history, and
particularly by the conduct that he maintained
in the war with the Gauls. I am going to be-
gin the recital of it.

SECT. II.

Motions of the Allobroges some time before Cæsar's entry into Gaul. The Helvetii, encouraged by Orgetorix, resolve to leave their country, and settle themselves elsewhere. Orgetorix aspires at making himself King. Is about to be prosecuted, dies. His plan still followed. The Helvetii begin their march. They ask leave of Cæsar to pass the Rhone, which he refuses them. They pass the Defile between Mount Jura and the Rhone. Cæsar overtakes them at the passage of the Soan. He beats the Tigurins on this side that river. He passes it, and pursues the body of that nation. An embassy from the Helvetii. A battle of the horse, wherein the Helvetii are Victors. The treason of Dumnorix the Eduen. Cæsar pardons him in consideration of his brother Divitiacus. Through the fault of an Officer, Cæsar loses an opportunity that he had managed to beat the Helvetii. They came to attack Cæsar, and are vanquished. The rest of the conquered army are obliged to surrender. Cæsar sends them back to their own country. He is desired by the Gauls to undertake the war against Ariovistus. The occasion of this war. Cæsar demands an interview with Ariovistus, which he denies him. Cæsar sends Ambassadors to make his propositions. The haughty answer of Ariovistus. Cæsar marches against Ariovistus. He makes himself sure of Besancon. The terror which spread itself through the Roman army. The admirable conduct of Cæsar to re-animate the courage of his men. The success answers to it, and the troops march with confidence against the enemy.

An

An interview between Ariovistus and Cæsar. The conference broke off by the perfidy of the Germans. Cæsar, at the request of Ariovistus, sends deputies to him. That Prince puts them in chains. Cæsar, several times, offers battle to Ariovistus, who declines it. The superstitious reason for this refusal. Cæsar forces the Germans to come to an engagement, and gains the victory. He recovers his two deputies. Cæsar goes to pass the winter in Cisalpine Gaul.

SINCE the conspiracy of Catiline there had been some motions among the * Allobroges. These People revolting under the conduct of a chief named Catugnatus, had carried war into the country which we call Provence, which for a long time, as we have said, had obeyed the Romans. But C. Pontinius had not had much difficulty to repulse their efforts, and satisfied with having brought them back to their duty, he thought that was enough to deserve a triumph. All being therefore peaceable on this side when Cæsar arrived in Gaul, the Helvetii † furnished him with an occasion for the war he desired.

Motions of the Allobroges some time before Cæsar's entry into Gaul. Dio L. xxxvii. Cic. de Prov. Conf. 7. 32.

Under the Consulship of Messala and Puppius Piso, two years before that of Cæsar, Orgetorix, the most illustrious and richest man among the Helvetii, inspired his nation with a desire to quit the country they inhabited, and to go and establish themselves in some other more fertile country of Gaul. The reasons that he employed to persuade them to it were,

The Helvetii encouraged by Orgetorix, resolve to leave their country, and settle themselves elsewhere. Cæs. de B. Gall. L. i. 4.

* People of Savoy and Dauphiny.

† The Switzers.

that shut up, as they were, between the Rhine, Mount Jura, the Lake * *Leman* and the Rhone, it was impossible for them to extend themselves, or to make conquests on their neighbours; and that nevertheless, forming a numerous body, the country that they occupied, and which was but an hundred and seventy-two miles in length, and seventy-six in breadth, was too strait to contain and nourish them. These motives had their effect upon a warlike and covetous people. But Orgetorix had his particular views.

*Orgetorix
aspires to
make him-
self King.
Is about to
be prose-
cuted.
Diss.*

He was to march at the head of his nation, to execute the design of which he was the author; but not content with the quality of Chief, he aspired to that of King. To succeed in which, he sought to procure himself accomplices and supports among the neighbouring People. It had been agreed by the Helvetii, that they would endeavour to secure their alliance. Orgetorix took upon him this negotiation. He went among the Sequani †, and the Edueni ‡, and engaged two of the greatest Lords of these two nations, Casticus and Dumnorix, to take measures to raise themselves to the royal dignity. He promised to second them with all the forces of the Helvetii, of which he had the command, upon condition that they should reciprocally lend him all their succours. And this Triumvirate flattered themselves that they should be powerful enough afterwards to subdue all the Gauls.

* *The Lake of Geneva.*

† *The People of the Franche-Comté.*

‡ *The People of Autun.*

But

But the intrigue was discovered, and the Helvetii, jealous of their liberty, formed a process against the culpable. He was arrested; and if he had been condemned, nothing less would have been his fate than to have been burnt alive. On the day that judgment was to be given, Orgetorix called together all his family, to the number of ten thousand men; his clients and debtors, of which the multitude was very great, came also to the Assembly, and all together tore the accused by force from the severity of the Judges. The nation would have had recourse to arms to make their authority respected: the Magistrates had already raised forces, when Orgetorix died, so *à propos*, that it was thought his death was voluntary.

The scheme of which he had given the Helvetii an idea, was nevertheless put in execution. The preparations continued for two years, which were employed in gathering together beasts of burthen, and waggons, and to make magazines of corn, that might be sufficient to subsist a nation in their march, till they could make a conquest of some good and fertile country. They took advantage also of this time to strengthen themselves by allies and companions, who were the Rauraci *, the Tulingi, the Latobrigi, and a swarm of the Boii transplanted into Norica. It was these motions that gave uneasiness to the Romans under the Consulship of Metellus Celer and of Afranius, as I have re-

His plan still followed.

* Those of Bale, which then made no part of the Helvetic body. The Tulingi and the Latobrigi were neighbours of the Helvetii. This is all we know with certainty. The

Boii were originally the People of the Bourbonnois, Colonies of whom settled in Germany and in Italy. Norica was Bavaria and part of Austria.

lated. But the year of this Consulship and the following, which was that of Cæsar, was destined by the Helvetii only for preparations.

A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.

L. CALPURNIUS PISO.

A. GABINIUS.

The Helvetii begin their march.

When the time of departure was come, that is to say, in the first months of the Consulship of Piso and Gabinius, the Helvetii burnt their towns, to the number of twelve, their little boroughs and villages which amounted to four hundred, and what corn they had too much, in order to take away from themselves all hopes of ever returning to their country, and to encourage themselves by this motive to brave all dangers. Thus, carrying with them no other provisions, than meal for three months, they began their march, men, women and children, making all together three hundred and sixty-eight thousand souls, of which fourscore and twelve thousand were fighting men. Their general rendezvous was on the banks of the Rhone over against Geneva, where they were all to meet on the 26th of March.

The Helvetii, passing the Rhone, entered into the Roman Province. Cæsar was no sooner informed of their design, than he went away from about Rome, where he had remained till then for the reasons I have already mentioned, and came with all speed to Geneva. He began with breaking down the bridge; which that city had over the Rhone; and as he had but one Roman Legion in Transalpine Gaul, he ordered great levies to be made throughout the whole Province.

When

When the Helvetii were informed of the arrival of Cæsar, they sent two Ambassadors to him, chosen from among the best qualified of their nation, to desire a passage cross the Roman Province, upon which they promised to make no waste. Cæsar took care not to allow them such a permission. He knew that a part of the Helvetii had formerly cut in pieces the army of the Consul L. Cassius. And independently of that reason, it was easy to conceive that a country could not but be horribly vexed by the passage of such a multitude, very probably not too well disciplined. It was therefore well resolved to refuse them their request. But as he had yet but few forces with him, he was willing to gain time, and told them he would consider of the proposition they had made him, and return them his answer on the 13th of April. He took the advantage of this interval, to cause the troops he had under his command, to build a wall sixteen feet high, and nineteen thousand paces in length, with a fosse, and several redoubts from space to space. This wall was designed to hinder the passage of the Rhone, which in these parts is fordable in more places than one. On the day appointed the Helvetii returned. Cæsar, who had already got together a greater number of troops, explained himself clearly, refused them the passage, and added that if they pretended to force it in spite of him, he very well knew how to prevent them. In short all the attempts they could make by day or by night, either with boats, or in searching for fords, were fruitless; and the Helvetii were constrained to take another route, and turn to the side of the Sequani.

They

A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 53.

They ask
leave of
Cæsar to
pass the
Rhone,
which he
refuses
them.
See Vol.
IX.

A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.

*They pass
the Defile,
between
Mount
Jura and
the Rhone.*

They were forced to file off by a neck of land very strait between Mount Jura and the Rhone, where two waggons could not pass abreast; so that it was in the power of the Sequani, by posting themselves on the mountain, to stop them short. The Helvetii addressed themselves to Dumnorix the Eduen, the son-in-law of Orgetorix, and the accomplice of his ambitious designs. This man who had some credit among the Sequani, charged himself with the negotiation. The freedom of passage was agreed to, and hostages given on both sides. The Helvetii hereupon began to traverse the country of the Sequani, whom they respected according to their agreement, and afterwards that of the Edueni, where they committed all kind of hostilities and ravages. Their scheme was to go into Santone.

*Cæsar
overtakes
them at
the passage
of the
Soan.*

Cæsar, informed of their march and their design, leaves Labiénus to defend the wall he had erected near the Rhone, returns into Italy, raises two Legions there, takes three that remained in winter quarters near Aquileia, and with these five Legions returns to the Alps, passes them, but not without having the inhabitants of the mountains to combat with, descends into the country of the * Vocontii, crosses that of the Allobroges, passes the Rhone, enters upon the lands of the † Segusii; all this with such speed, that he overtook the Helvetii at the passage of the Soan. It is true that this prodigious multitude marched but slowly. They took up twenty days in passing the Soan; and Cæsar, when he arrived there,

* The Diois.

† The Lyonnais.

still found on this side the river the Canton of A. R. 694.
Ann. C. 54.
the * Tigurins, who made one fourth part of
the nation.

He had received on the road the complaints
of the Edueni, and those of the Allobroges,
who inhabited on the right of the Rhone, upon
the havock that the Helvetian army had made
in their country, and by promising to take He beats
the Tigu-
rins on this
side that
river.
their quarrel upon him, he obliged them to
furnish him with troops and especially with
horse. Thus the chief of the Eduenian Nobi-
lity were in the Roman army, and among
others Dumnorix, who in his heart favoured
the Helvetii, but nevertheless came to the camp
of Cæsar, with an intent to hurt him and tra-
verse his designs, as much as he could. Cæsar
was not yet informed of this treachery, and he
had no room to suspect it in the battle with the
Tigurins. He had taken three Legions with
which he fell upon them, defeated them en-
tirely, and killed a great number on the spot;
the others dispersed themselves by flying into
the forests.

It was the People of this same Canton, who He passes it
and pur-
sues the
body of the
nation, an
embassy
from the
Helvetii.
fifty years before had vanquished and killed the
Consul, Q. Cassius. Cæsar was charmed, in
his first Victory, to have revenged the disgrace
of the Roman name, upon those who were the
authors of it. He had himself a domestic in-
terest in it, because L. Piso, the grandfather
of his father-in-law, had perished in the same
defeat with Cassius.

Cæsar conqueror of the Tigurins, resolved
to pursue the body of the nation, and for that
purpose built a bridge over the Soan, and

* These of Zurich.

passed

A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.

passed it in a day. The enemy surprized and dismayed at such diligence, sent him an embassy, at the head of which was Divico, formerly chief of the Helvetii, when they defeated the army of Cassius, and who consequently must have been very old. I shall relate his discourse with Cæsar, because therein the character of the People is drawn.

Divico said then to Cæsar. “ That if the
“ Romans would make peace with the Hel-
“ vetii, these would go and settle themselves
“ in the country that Cæsar should appoint
“ them. But if he was resolved to make war
“ with them, he called to his remembrance
“ the antient disgrace of the Romans, and the
“ valour of the Helvetic nation. That for
“ having surprized one of the Cantons, while
“ the others had passed the river, and could
“ not succour their comrades, he had no rea-
“ son to be much elated on the advantage, nor
“ to despise his enemies. That for them,
“ they had been instructed by their fathers
“ and their ancestors to depend more on their
“ courage, than on cunning and ambushes.
“ That they should venture therefore to ren-
“ der the place where they were posted famous
“ by a new defeat of the army of the Roman
“ People.”

This was not the language of a suppliant. Cæsar did not seem offended at it, and answered with moderation, but like a man who would give the law. He undertook to prove that the Helvetii were altogether wrong with respect to the Romans, and concluded that, nevertheless, he granted them a peace, if they would give hostages, and promise satisfaction to the Edueni and the Allobroges, whose coun-
tries

tries they had ruined. Divico replied fiercely, <sup>A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.</sup>
 “ that the Helvetii were not accustomed to
 “ give but receive hostages, and that no body
 “ knew it better than the Romans.” Indeed
 the remains of Cassius’s army could not have
 obtained life but by giving hostages and by
 passing under the yoke.

Divico being returned to the Helvetii, they <sup>*A battle of
the horse,
wherein
the Helve-
tii are
conquerors.*</sup>
 put themselves in march, according to their first
 plan, and Cæsar followed them. He had four
 thousand horse raised in Gaul, among which was
 a considerable body of the Edueni commanded
 by Dumnorix. All this cavalry had orders to
 go before, and harraß the enemy ; but engag-
 ing in a disadvantageous place, they were beaten
 by a detachment of the Helvetic horse who
 were not above five hundred strong. It was <sup>*The treason
of Dumno-
rix the
Eduen.*</sup>
 upon this occasion that the treason of Dumno-
 rix began to shew itself : for he took flight the
 first with those under his command. Notwith-
 standing this check, in which the disgrace was
 greater to the Romans than the loss, Cæsar ad-
 vanced still at the heels of the Helvetii, so that
 during fifteen days the two armies always en-
 camped within five or six miles of one ano-
 ther. If there was no battle in this space of
 time, it was not that the Helvetii, encouraged
 by the success they had had with their cavalry,
 did not seek an opportunity for it : but Cæsar
 avoided it, waiting for a place and time when
 he might attack them to advantage.

Nevertheless he was not without uneasiness
 on account of subsisting his army. The corn
 which the Edueni had promised him, did not
 come, and when he demanded it of them, they
 payed him with fair speeches of which he saw
 no effect. He was willing to dive into the
 cause

At R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.

cause of all these delays, and having interrogated the sovereign Magistrate of the Edueni, and the chiefs of the nation, who were in his camp, he learnt that his resentment ought to fall upon Dumnorix, who all powerful with the multitude, had persuaded many of them, that if they must receive masters, it would be much better to obey the Helvetii, Gauls like themselves, than the Romans. In this he did not reason ill. But his secret scheme was, as we have seen, to raise himself to the sovereignty, and with this view endeavoured to secure the friendship of the Helvetii.

*Cæsar
pardons
him, in
considera-
tion of his bro-
ther Divi-
tiacus.*

Cæsar found himself very much embarrassed with respect to the conduct he ought to maintain towards Dumnorix. Such a treason seemed not fit to go unpunished: but the guilty person was brother to Divitiacus, a man of probity, a faithful ally of the Romans, and on the foot of friendship with Cæsar. The General therefore thought he could not act against Dumnorix till he had acquainted his brother with it, and obtained his consent. He sent for him, laid before him all the complaints he had against his brother, and desired him not to take it ill if he made himself, or caused the nation of the Edueni to make, a process out against Dumnorix. Divitiacus threw himself at his feet, and confessed to him all his brother's faults: he added, that he himself had reason to complain of him, for though he was his elder brother by several years, he had greatly contributed to his elevation, and was nevertheless repayed only with ingratitude: but represented to Cæsar, that all criminal as he was, Dumnorix, was his brother; and if the younger should suffer a rigorous treatment while the elder con-
tinued

tinued in favour, all Gaul would be enraged at Divitiacus for the punishment of Dumnorix, and no longer look upon him but with horror. Cæsar had mildness and clemency enough to yield immediately to these representations. He took Divitiacus by the hand, comforted him, and told him he would forgive his brother; and having caused Dumnorix to be brought in to the presence of the other, he let him know the subjects of complaint he had against him, exhorted him to behave so that he might be free of all suspicion for the future, and then sent him back again: but nevertheless, as he could not confide in him, he gave him guards, and thus the affair ended. But Dumnorix, always unquiet and a lover of novelties, found at length the death he had sought, as we shall relate hereafter.

The same day that this happened, Cæsar *Through the fault of an officer, Cæsar loses an opportunity that he had managed to beat the Helvetii,* learnt, by his scouts, that the enemy were posted at the foot of a mountain about eight miles from his camp. He informed himself of the nature of the place, and learning that there was a by-road by which it was easy to reach the top of the mountain, he sent Labienus with a detachment to seize it, and marched himself directly to the enemy. An officer who had reputation, was ordered to go before to reconnoitre the state of affairs. When the Roman army was not above fifteen hundred paces from the Helvetii, this officer ran, and reported that the summit of the mountain was taken up by the enemy, and that he had seen the Gaulic arms and ensigns there. There was nothing in it, but his fear had made him take Labienus's detachment for the troops of the Gauls. Cæsar, deceived by this false report, did not judge it proper

A. R. 694.
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proper to advance, and lost thus, by the fault of this officer, an opportunity to have crushed the enemy, who would not have been able to have defended themselves, attacked on both sides, at the same time, by Labienus and Cæsar.

*They come
to attack
Cæsar, and
are van-
quished.*

As there was but very little provision left in the Roman army, Cæsar was under a necessity to quit the pursuit of the enemy, and turn towards * Bibracte the capital city of the Edueni. The Helvetii informed of this motion, instead of thinking themselves happy to have got clear of the Romans, who pursued them, came of themselves to seek for them. At their approach, Cæsar with his troops retired to a little hill, and sent the cavalry to meet the Gauls and stop them. He took all advantages, covered the whole hill with arms and soldiers, making his main body of the four Legions in which he had the greater confidence because they had served already, and posting above them a body of reserve of the two Legions new raised in Cisalpine Gaul. He had reason to be cautious. The Helvetii easily repulsed the Roman cavalry; and forming themselves into a square Phalanx, which they took care to fence with a military tortoise, that is to say, their bucklers joined one against another, as well before, as on their flanks, and over their heads, they advanced furiously, and notwithstanding the disadvantage of the place, attacked the Romans, who were posted half way up the hill. Cæsar was sensible of the great danger they were in, and to shew his soldiers that he intended fully to share it with them, he put him-

Autun.

self

self on foot with all his officers, and sent away ^{A. R. 694.} all the horses, that no hope might remain to ^{Ant. C. 58.} any one but in victory.

The battle began at one of the clock in the afternoon, and continued till evening, without the Romans seeing the back of one of the enemies. Even after the Helvetian army had been obliged to give ground, they returned afresh to the charge; and there happened still a third battle, near the baggage, which lasted a good part of the night. But all the efforts of this obstinate bravery were in vain. The Romans seized their camp and their baggage; but not without a very considerable loss. Cæsar, who does not tell the number of his slain, confesses that the care of burying them, and of dressing the wounded, obliged him to continue upon the spot three days, during which time the unhappy remains of the Helvetian nation, to the number of an hundred and thirty thousand souls, retreated in a precipitate flight, and in a march of four days arrived in the territories of the Lingones.

For all this they did not escape their Victor, *The rest of* whose incredible activity never left a victory *the van-* imperfect. After three days allowed to neces- *quished* sary repose, he set himself to pursue the Hel- *army are* vetii, and at the same time, sent couriers, with *obliged to* orders to the Langri, forbidding them to give *surrender.* corn or any other assistance to the fugitives, if they would not be treated as they should. This menace had its effect; and the Helvetii, reduced to an extreme scarcity, were obliged to humble their pride, and send deputies to Cæsar to make their submission, and put themselves in his hands. These deputies found Cæsar in full march, and throwing themselves at

A. R. 694:
Ant. C. 58.

his feet, desired peace of him with humble prayers and tears in their eyes. Cæsar gave them no other answer but that he would have the Helvetii wait for him at the place where they were then incamped.

When he arrived there, he demanded hostages of them, their arms, and the slaves who had deserted and were received in their camp. While they were considering of the execution of the orders that the Conqueror exacted from them, he passed some time, and the night came on. Six thousand men of the Canton, called * Urbigenians, either through the remains of pride, which made them look upon this submission as ignominious, or dreading the consequences of it, or for some other motive, chose to steal away from the camp in the beginning of the night, and take the rout of the Rhine and Germany. Cæsar was no sooner informed of this, than he dispatched orders to all the People whose countries they were to pass through, to stop them wherever they should be found, and to send them back to him. He was obeyed and the unhappy Urbigenians were treated by him as enemies, that is put to the sword.

*Cæsar
sends them
back to
their own
country.*

As to the others, after they had delivered the hostages that were required of them, their arms, and the deserters, he granted them all their lives. There were four nations ruined, the † Helvetii, the Tulingi, the Latobrigi, and the Boii. The three first of these People

* This Canton took its name from the little town of Orbe in the country of Vaud.

† Cæsar does not speak

here of the Rauraci. He comprehends them very likely under the name of the Helvetii.

had

had orders to return to their country, and re-^{A. R. 694.}
build the towns, and villages that they had^{Ant. C. 58.}
burnt. Cæsar was not willing that the Ger-
mans, drawn by the goodness of the land which
is thought at this day not very fruitful, but
which he took to be fertile, and which perhaps
was better cultivated than the lands of Ger-
many, should be tempted to come and occupy
the places which the Helvetii and their allies
had left vacant. As to the Boii, the Edueni
demanded, which was granted them, that this
brave nation should be incorporated with them.

Thus was ended the first war that Cæsar had
made in Gaul. The success of it was complete.
Cæsar shewed that he knew how both to con-
quer, and to make the best of his victory. The
loss of the Helvetii and their allies was above
two thirds of their number. Of three hun-
dred sixty-eight thousand that they were at
coming away, there returned but an hundred
and ten thousand to their country again.

Cæsar undertook a second war the same *He is de-*
campaign, not against the Gauls, but at their *sired by the*
desire and in their defense. *Gauls to*

I have said that Gaul was divided into two *undertake*
factions, of which one had the Edueni for their *the war*
Chiefs, and the other the Sequani supported *against*
by the People of Avergne. These two fac- *Ariovistus.*
tions had for a long time been at war, and that *The occa-*
of the Edueni had the advantage. The van- *sion of this*
quished, by a bad policy, practised in all times, *war.*
and always fatal, could not resolve to submit
to their countrymen, but had recourse to a
stranger. They called in Ariovistus King of
the Suevi in Germany, who for a sum of money
that they remitted to him, passed the Rhine,
and came to their succour. The Germans at

A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 38.

that time more fierce and more warlike even than the Gauls, brought victory over to the party they embraced. The Edueni and their confederates were vanquished. Ariovistus imposed a Tribute upon them, and obliged them to give him hostages. He even forced them to swear that they would never demand their hostages back again nor ever implore the assistance of the Roman People, and that they would never withdraw themselves from the dominion of the Sequani, that is to say, from his own. For the Sequani who had called him in, were subdued by him, as well as the others, and even worse used, for he appropriated to himself a third part of their territory, and established himself there, finding their country better than that he had quitted. He augmented his forces, and instead of fifteen thousand men, that he at first brought with him, he had presently six score thousand; so that finding himself too much straitened, he prepared, at the time that Cæsar made war with the Helvetii, to seize on a second or third part of the country of the Sequani. The Gauls therefore groaned under the oppression of a nation whom they looked upon as Barbarians, and dreaded still greater ills to follow, not doubting but Ariovistus had a design to conquer all Gaul, and bring it under his Empire.

In these circumstances Cæsar appeared as their deliverer. His victory over the Helvetii, whose invasion could not fail of being fatal, at least, to a great part of the Gauls, had delivered them from an imminent danger. They thought he would be no less useful against Ariovistus, and herein they were not mistaken. But they did not, or would

would not, see, that their liberty was in much more danger from the Romans and Cæsar. A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 53.

They began with asking leave of him, as if they already acknowledged him for their master, to hold a general Assembly of all the People of Gaul. The Assembly was held, with the precaution of obliging all the members who composed it to take an oath, that they would keep as an inviolable secret whatever they deliberated upon; and that no one should be permitted to open his mouth but those who were charged with the orders of the Assembly. In consequence of the resolution taken herein to implore the assistance of Cæsar, several Deputies of the first rank in Gaul were found in it. Divitiacus spoke first.

He first of all laid open all that I have related concerning Ariovistus. He added, that if some stop was not put to it, all the Germans would pass the Rhine, drawn by the mildness of the climate of Gaul, very different from their own, and desirous as they were to exchange their savage way of living for the more agreeable and polite manners of the Gauls. He represented Ariovistus as a Barbarian, passionate and cruel, who had exacted from them to give for hostages the children of the best families in Gaul, and who in time, upon the least caprice, might make these illustrious young men suffer the most horrible torments. He concluded that if the Gauls could not find protection in Cæsar and the Romans, they should be obliged to do like the Helvetii, to abandon their country, and go to seek elsewhere a quiet abode. In finishing he demanded the secrecy of Cæsar, because if Ariovistus was informed of the step they had taken with the Romans, there was

A. R. 694. no room to doubt but that he would exercise all
Ant. C. 58. sorts of barbarities against the hostages that he
had in his hands.

All the other Deputies joined with Divitiacus, to conjure Cæsar with tears to grant them his protection. The Sequani alone kept a pensive silence, with their heads hung down, and their eyes fixed on the ground. Cæsar asked them the reason of this silence; but they made no answer. After he had interrogated them several times without getting one word from them, Divitiacus served them for an interpreter. He said that the condition of the Sequani was so deplorable, that they durst not even complain, not less dreading the cruelty of Ariovistus absent, than if he was before their eyes, because he enjoyed a part of their country, and was master of all their towns. That of consequence they could not have even the melancholy hope of getting away from their tyrant by a voluntary retreat, and that they could not but expect the most horrible punishments, if they should happen to be discovered.

Cæsar demands an interview with Ariovistus, which he refuses him. Nothing could better agree with the secret views of Cæsar, and the desire he had of acquiring glory and power by his arms, than to undertake a war with Ariovistus: but he was willing to colour his ambition with specious pretexts and reasons, and would not seem to be evidently unjust. He had himself, during his Consulship, caused Ariovistus to be declared King, a friend and ally of the Roman People. It was not therefore allowable to attack him, without first trying the methods of mildness and pacification. He chose to send to him to demand an interview. Ariovistus was intolerably proud and haughty, and answered brutishly,
“ that

“ that if he had any business with Cæsar, he
 “ would go to him, and if Cæsar had any busi-
 “ ness he might take the pains to come to
 “ him. A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.

Cæsar was not discouraged, he sent fresh
 Ambassadors to him, to tell him, “ that as he
 “ had been honoured, by Cæsar and the Roman
 “ Senate, with the title of King, a friend and
 “ ally, he did not shew his acknowledgment
 “ of such a benefit by refusing a conference
 “ that he proposed to him; but they were
 “ come to let him know what Cæsar desired of
 “ him. That in the first place he required of
 “ him that he should no more bring on this
 “ side the Rhine any bands of Germans into
 “ Gaul. Secondly, that he should surrender
 “ himself, and likewise permit the Sequani
 “ to surrender their hostages to the Edueni;
 “ lastly to forbear all violences against the said
 “ Edueni, and not make war upon them, or
 “ their allies. That if Ariovistus would ob-
 “ serve all this, friendship might still continue
 “ between the Romans and him, but if he re-
 “ fused demands so just, Cæsar was authorized
 “ by a decree of the Senate, made under the
 “ Consulship of Messalla and Piso, to defend
 “ the Edueni, antient allies and brethren of
 “ the Romans; and that he was firmly resolved
 “ not to suffer them to be oppressed.”

The answer of Ariovistus was very haughty. *The*
 He pretended, “ that the Romans had no more
 “ a right to prescribe to him in what manner
 “ he ought to treat a People conquered by
 “ him, than he should be willing to impose
 “ laws of the like kind upon them. That he
 “ would not surrender the hostages of the
 “ Edueni. That he consented not to make

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“ war upon them, provided they were faithful in observing the treaty he had made with them, and in paying him the annual tribute that was agreed upon; but if they missed thereby the quality of brethren of the Romans it was but a slight advantage to them. As to Cæsar’s menace of taking their quarrel in hand, he ought to know, that no body had ever entered into a war with Ariovistus, who had not found it to their loss. That he might prove it whenever he pleased. That he would soon learn what the bravery of the Germans could do, always invincible, constantly trained up to arms, and who for fourteen years had never lodged under a roof.

*Cæsar
marches
against
Ariovistus.*

At the same time that Cæsar received this answer from Ariovistus, the deputies of the Edueni and those of Treves came to him. The first complained of the * Harudi, a German Nation, who a little while since had passed the Rhine to join Ariovistus, and ravaged their country, so that, with all their submissions, they could not obtain peace from their proud enemies. Those of Treves acquainted Cæsar, that a great multitude of the Suevi had approached the banks of the Rhine, and were preparing to pass it. These accounts determined Cæsar not to delay undertaking the war, and as soon as he had made the necessary provisions for subsisting his army, he marched against Ariovistus.

*He makes
himself
sure of
Besancon.*

After three days march, he learnt that the German advanced with all his forces to seize

* It is not known from what part of Germany these People came.

on Besancon. This place was full of all sorts A. R. 694
Ant. C. 52. of warlike ammunition, and it was very strong of itself, says Cæsar. The river Doux went round it like a circle described by the compasses. It left only an interval of six hundred paces but which was closed by a mountain, the foot of which extended on both sides to the banks of the river. This mountain was shut in with a wall that joined it to the city, to which it served as the citadel. Cæsar made so much haste that he came there before Ariovistus, and secured to himself this important place, he stayed there some time, to make his dispositions with respect to provisions.

During this stay, the Romans in discoursing The terror with the Gauls, especially with those who, on which account of their trade, were the most familiar spread it-
self with the Germans, learnt terrible things of the through enemy they were come to seek. They exag- the Roman
army. gerated to them the enormous size of the Germans, their incredible boldness, and the continual exercise they made of their arms. The Gauls confessed, that it often times happened in battle, that they were not able to support the very looks of this fierce nation. These discourses had a very great effect, especially upon the young officers of the Roman army, who deceived by the softness with which Cæsar lived in the city, had followed him, in hopes of finding in his camp the same pleasures, the same amusements, and above all an opportunity of enriching themselves. These young men, who had no experience in the military art, were strangely terrified. Several desired their discharges on divers pretences; and those who, through shame, chose to continue, could neither hide the fear that appeared in their countenances,

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tenances, nor sometimes even refrain from tears. Sometimes shut up in their tents, they wept their unhappy fate; sometimes they lamented with their friends the danger to which they were going to be exposed. Throughout the whole camp every one made his last will and testament as if they were going to certain death. This terror became general: It communicated itself to the soldiers, and even to the Veteran officers. Only, to avoid the reproach of cowardice, they said it was not the enemy they feared, but the defiles and forests that they had to pass, and the difficulty of getting provisions. Some of them gave notice to Cæsar, that if he ordered their departure, he would not be obeyed by the soldiers.

The admirable conduct of Cæsar to reanimate the courage of his men.

This was one of the occasions wherein Cæsar shewed he was most worthy of himself. For to whom can he be compared? He assembled a grand council, whether he called not only those who had a right to enter into it, but all the Captains. There he began to reprimand them sharply, for taking upon them to examine which way and on what design they were to march. He afterwards presented to them different reasons, to shew that they were in the wrong to look upon the Germans as invincible. *As to those (a),* added he, *who cover their*

(a) Qui suum timorem in rei frumentariæ simulationem angustiasque itinerum conferrent facere arronganter; quum aut de officio Imperatoris desperare, aut ei præscribere viderentur. Hæc sibi esse curæ. Frumentum Sequanos, Lucos, Lingones-

que subministrare; jamque esse in agris frumenta matura. De itinere ipsos brevi tempore judicatu. Quod non fore dicto audientes milites neque signa latu. dicantur, nihil se eâ re commoveri. Scire enim, quibuscunque exercitus dicto audiens non fuerit,

their timidity under false pretents, throwing it on the pretended danger of wanting provisions, and the difficulty of the route, they much forget themselves, in wanting confidence in their General, or pretending to prescribe to him what he ought to do. I have taken care of all: The Sequani, the Leuci*, the Lingones, will furnish me with corn; and moreover the harvest in the country is quite ready. As to the difficulties and dangers of the route, you will immediately have it in your power to judge of them yourselves. They tell me that the soldiers will refuse to obey me, and not go away at my orders. This I do not apprehend. I know that if some Generals have found their soldiers disobedient, they have drawn that trouble upon themselves, either by some ill success, or by their covetousness and injustice. For my part, the whole course of my life, will sufficiently clear me from the suspicion of loving money; and my good fortune has shewn itself in the war with the Helvetii; therefore I declare to you, that what I had resolved to delay for some time, I am going to put in execution instantly; and I will give orders for departing this night three hours before day, that I may see as soon as may be if honour and duty have more power over you than fear. And although every one else should abandon me, I will

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fuerit, aut malè re gesta fortunam defuisse, aut aliquo facinore comperto avaritiam esse convictam. Suam innocentiam perpetuâ vitâ, felicitatem Helvetiorum bello esse perspectam. Itaque se, quod in longiorem diem collaturus esset, representaturum, & proximâ nocte de quartâ vigiliâ castra motu-

rum, ut quam primùm intelligere posset; utrum apud eos pudor atque officium, an timor, plus valeret. Quod si præterea nemo sequatur, tamen se cum solâ decimâ legione iturum, de quâ non dubitaret, sibi que eam prætoriam cohortem futuram.

Cæs. de B. Gall. L. I. n. 40.

* Those of Toul in Lorrain.

march

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march with the tenth Legion alone, of whose fidelity and courage I have no manner of doubt, and this Legion shall serve me for my prætorian guard.

Who can help being charmed with this eloquence, every thing, and every word is introduced to the purpose, and its value is drawn from the great courage expressed in it, and its exalted sentiments? But to be eloquent in this manner is to be Cæsar.

The success answers to it, and the troops march with confidence against the enemy.

He had reason to be satisfied with the impression he had made by his discourse. The disposition of the minds of his People was entirely changed: and throughout the whole army there was an incredible ardor to march against the enemy. The tenth Legion sent to him to return him the most lively thanks for the good opinion he had of them, and to give him assurances that they would answer it by their deeds. The other Legions deputed their principal Officers to go to him, to protest that they never had among them either fear, doubt, or hesitation; and that they always remembered, that it was the General and not the soldiers, who was to decide upon the undertaking and the conduct of the war. Cæsar took advantage of this ardor, and departed, as he declared he would, the same night. He was informed of the roads by Divitiacus, who was, of all the Gauls, the person in whom he had the most confidence. Upon the lights he had from him, he took a circuit that lengthened his march to forty miles, to avoid the narrow passes and woods, and to have only an open country to cross; and after a march of seven days successively, he found himself within twenty-four thousand paces of Ariovistus's camp.

When

When the German saw Cæsar so near him, A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.
The inter-
view be-
tween
Ariovistus
and Cæsar. he sent to him to offer the interview he had before refused, Cæsar always desirous to avoid all reproaches on his proceedings, made no difficulty upon this article. They agreed upon the day, which was the fifth, reckoned from that on which the proposition was made. In the interval there were frequent deputations, from one side and the other, to regulate all the circumstances and conditions of the interview; and Ariovistus, who had not seemed to have acted with good faith throughout this whole affair, exacted from Cæsar that he should not bring with him his infantry, under pretence that he feared an ambuscade. Cæsar consented to it. But as he had not Roman cavalry enough to make head against that of the Germans, and as he did not think it safe for him to put his person, and his life in the hands of the Gaulic cavalry he dismounted all the horsemen of the Gauls, and ordered them to lend their horses to the soldiers of the tenth Legion, which was his favourite Legion. Upon which one of these soldiers said well enough, "that Cæsar did more for them than he had promised. That he had only given them hopes of a service more noble in the Infantry by designing them for his guard, and that now he had raised them to the rank of horse."

There was a large plain between the two camps, near the middle of which was a rising ground of an indifferent size, and to that it was that Cæsar and Ariovistus advanced to meet each other, each accompanied by ten friends or principal officers: all the rest of their people remained at two hundred paces distance. The conver-

A. R. 694. conversation was on horseback. Cæsar represented to Ariovistus the kindness with which he himself and the Roman Senate had honoured him, in acknowledging him for King, a friend and ally of the Empire: a kindness which he set off very emphatically, for the Romans knew how to set a value on the favours they bestowed. He afterwards strongly maintained the strict alliance that had subsisted for a long time between the Romans and the Edueni. He concluded with repeating the same demands that he had already made by his deputies.

Ariovistus defended himself with haughtiness. He justified his entrance into Gaul, in that he had not come thither, but at the request of the Gauls themselves; and the tributes that he exacted from the Edueni, upon the right of war, which authorized the Conqueror to impose laws on the vanquished. As to the friendship of the Roman People, he had desired it that he might derive honour and profit from it, and not that at length it should be prejudicial to him; that if, under the pretext of this friendship, they intended to make him lose his tributes which were the fruit of his victory, and his right over the People subdued by the force of arms, he should refuse it with as much earnestness as he sought it. He went farther, and maintained that all Gaul, except the Roman Province, was his Empire, and that it was not just to trouble him in a country that belonged to him. He pretended therefore that Cæsar ought to quit it, and retire with his troops. *If you do not,* added he, *there is no longer any friendship between us, and I shall look upon you as an enemy. I even know that if I should slay you in battle, I shall do a pleasure to several*

several of the most illustrious Citizens of Rome ; they have explained themselves to me by couriers that I have received from them, and your death would be to me the price of their friendship. If, on the contrary, you will retire, and leave me master of Gaul, I am in a condition to reward you ; and whatever war you shall please to undertake, I will engage myself to put an end to it, without its costing you any pains or danger.

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These intelligences maintained between the Roman Lords and Ariovistus against Cæsar, is, in my opinion a very extraordinary fact : but to what lengths will not the animosity of dissensions carry some men ? For the rest, all the German pride appeared in this discourse, to which Cæsar answered with as much calmness as the King of the Suevi had shewn passion. But their pretensions were so wide of one another, that they might well reproach themselves : Cæsar would give law in every thing, Dio. and Ariovistus would grant nothing.

The perfidy of the Germans broke up the conference. While Cæsar was yet speaking, they approached the mount, and threw darts and stones against the Romans. Cæsar immediately quitted Ariovistus and retreated to the midst of his own People ; however forbade them to commit any act of hostility that might bring on a battle. He did not fear the success of it, but he was willing to maintain a conduct perfectly clear, and leave the blame of all upon his enemies. At his return to his camp, he took great care to spread abroad the exorbitant propositions of Ariovistus, and the arrogance he had had to abuse the Gauls to the Romans : this joined to the breach of faith in the Germans troubling a pacific interview, irritated

*The perfidy
of the Ger-
mans
breaks off
the confer-
ence.*

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irritated and more and more stirred up the courage of Cæsar's soldiers, and gave them the greater ardor to fight.

Cæsar, at the request of Ariovistus, sends Deputies to him. That Prince puts them in chains.

Two days after Ariovistus sent to demand a fresh interview with Cæsar, or at least that he would depute some one who might continue the negotiation begun. Cæsar had done enough to put it in a method, and therefore refused the interview; and to send some illustrious Roman to Ariovistus, was to expose his Deputy to great danger, and almost to deliver him up to the Barbarians. Nevertheless he was not willing to be thought the first who broke off all hopes of a peace. He cast his eyes therefore on C. Valerius Procillus, a Gaul by birth, but whose father had been made a Roman Citizen. He was a young man of wit, of gentle manners, and who could confer with Ariovistus without the help of an interpreter; because this Prince, in the long time that he had lived in Gaul, had learned the language of the country. Lastly, as he was not a person of the first rank, any treachery towards him would be without effect. Cæsar joined to him M. Mettius, who was allied to Ariovistus by the rights of hospitality. It appeared, by the event, that this was a wise precaution of Cæsar; for his two Deputies were no sooner arrived in the camp of the Germans, than Ariovistus asked them what they came for, and if they wanted to spy what was passing in his army; and immediately put them in chains.

Cæsar several times offers battle to Ariovistus, who declines it.

The next day Ariovistus advanced within six thousand paces of the Roman camp, and the day following went two thousand beyond it, to cut off their communication with the countries that were behind them, and hinder them from

from receiving provisions either from the Senones or the Edueni. ^{A. R. 694. Ant. C. 58.} Cæsar offered battle to the Germans for five days successively. But Ariovistus constantly kept his troops shut up in his camp. Only there were some combats between the horse, which was the part of their forces in which the Germans had most confidence, and with reason. Their cavalry was numerous, they mounted six thousand horse, well dressed, well exercised, and moreover supported by a succour which seemed very well designed. Each horseman had a foot soldier, which he had chosen himself, and who was attached to him. This body of light infantry accompanied the cavalry in battle, and served them for a rear-guard; where they found a retreat. If the action became dangerous, these footmen advanced, and took a share in the battle; if any horsemen was considerably wounded and fell from his horse, they gathered round to defend and support him; if speed was required, either to go before or to retreat, they were so light and so alert, that laying hold of the mains of the horses, they could run as fast as they.

When Cæsar saw that the Germans were obstinate in refusing battle, he thought he ought to secure the freedom of his convoys. With this view, he chose a place proper to form a camp six hundred paces beyond that of the enemy; whither he afterwards went with his whole army divided into three bodies, of which the two first had orders to keep under arms while the third intrenched themselves. Ariovistus sent sixteen thousand foot, and all his horse, to hinder this work; but he could not succeed, the camp was fortified; and Cæsar

A. R. 694. leaving two Legions there with a part of his
Ant. C. 58. Auxiliaries, carried the four other Legions back
to his great camp.

The next day Cæsar drawing his troops out of both camps, according to custom offered the enemy battle. It was still to no purpose: but when he was retired, Ariovistus caused the little camp of the Romans to be attacked. Many were wounded on both sides without any advantage that was decisive.

*The super-
stitious
reason for
this refu-
sal.*

Cæsar was amazed that these fierce Germans would not accept the combat that had been so often proffered them. He was desirous to know the reason of it, and having interrogated some of the prisoners, he learned that this fiery and unruly people were curbed by their superstition. Certain women among them, pretended prophetesses, delivered oracles to them, which were received with great respect: and they had declared that they would not conquer if they fought before the new moon.

*Cæsar
forces the
Germans
to come to
an engage-
ment and
gains the
Victory.*

Cæsar thought, with reason, that this superstitious fear of the enemy was an advantage he ought to make the most of. Therefore the next day, after having left a sufficient guard in his two camps, he advanced with all his troops in three lines up to the camp of the Germans, as if he was going to assault it. They were forced to come out, and put themselves in order of battle, distributed by nations, encompassing all their army with waggons, so that no one might have any hopes in flight. The women mounted on these waggons, weeping and tearing their hair, recommended themselves to the valour of their husbands, and conjured them not to suffer them to become slaves to the Romans.

Cæsar

Cæsar observed that the left wing of the enemy was the weakest; therefore he began the attack on that side: very likely, if I may be allowed to conjecture on such an account, because he judged if one of the two wings was once broken, it would not fail of carrying the defeat to the other. Both parties ran with such violence against one another, that the Romans had neither time or space to throw their javelins; but they came all at once to make use of their swords. The Germans, according to custom, covered themselves with their bucklers in tortoise. Cæsar reports that several of the Roman soldiers leaped upon this tortoise, and raising up the bucklers with their hands, peirced the enemy through and through that lay under them.

The left wing of the Germans could not hold it out long against Cæsar in person; but the right wing had the advantage. Young Crassus caused the third line or body of reserve of the Romans to advance, by which he made an end and compleated the victory. All the Germans took to flight, making towards the Rhine, which was fifty miles from the field of battle, and stopped not at all till they came thither. Some, a very small number passed the river either by swimming, or, like Ariovistus himself, in little boats that they found on the banks of it. All the rest were cut to pieces by the cavalry of the victorious army. The two wives of Ariovistus perished in this flight; and of two daughters he had, one was killed and the other taken prisoner.

Cæsar had the satisfaction to recover his two Deputies, Procillus and Mettius. He felicitates himself upon this in his Commentaries, in a manner

A.R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.

He re-
covers his
two Depu-
ties.

A. R. 694.
Ant. C. 58.

manner that does honour to his humanity and generous disposition; and affirms, in precise terms, that the joy he had in saving Procillus, was not less than that of the victory. This young Gaul had been in extreme danger. Lots had been drawn three times to decide whether he should be burnt alive upon the spot, or reserved for another time, and three times the die favourable to him preserved his life.

Cæsar's victory over Ariovistus terrified the Suevi, who, as I have said, were approached to the banks of the Rhine. They retreated in disorder into their country; and the Ubii, who inhabited the country, where Cologne has been since built, pursuing them, killed a great number of them.

*Cæsar
goes to pass
the winter
in Cisal-
pine Gaul.*

Thus Cæsar, in one campaign put an end to two great wars, and with so much speed, that he went into winter-quarters before the usual season. He distributed his army in the country of the Sequani, and left Labienus to command in his absence. He passed himself into Cisalpine Gaul, willing, as he says, to take a circuit there, and administer justice, according to the usage of the Roman Magistrates. But he was not less attentive to the affairs of the city. It is very probable that during this time, they negociated with him, to no purpose, to obtain his consent to the recalling Cicero.

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P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER.

A. R. 695.

Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

Ant. C. 57.

THE people of Gaul properly so called, *The second*
or the Celtæ, seemed to be subdued, at *campaign of*
Cæsar in
least *Gaul.*

A. R. 695. least the greatest part of them, and disposed to wear the yoke of the Romans. It was not the same with the Belgæ, who till now had never suffered their liberty to be infringed. They were for the most part Germans originally, all proud, warlike, and accustomed to brave fatigues and dangers. Their natural bravery had not been softened by luxury, which they were strangers to. Of all the inhabitants of Gaul, they alone had preserved their country from the inundation of the Cimbri and Teutons; and this honour still raised their courage, and made them look upon themselves as invincible. Cæsar's conquests over the Helvetii and Ariovistus did not terrify them, but made them think it necessary to reunite their forces to oppose so formidable an enemy. Moreover, spurred on by the secret instigations of many among the Celtæ, who bore with impatience the dominion of the Romans, but durst not declare themselves openly, they were at work during the whole winter, to form a league amongst themselves, and to put themselves in a condition, against spring, to have an army capable to revenge the loss of liberty in Gaul.

Cæsar goes to his army, and arrives on the frontiers of the country of the Belgæ.

Cæsar learned the news of this while he was yet in Cisalpine Gaul. He levied two legions immediately, which he sent over the Alps, under the command of Q. Pedius. As for himself, as soon as there was forage in the countries, he went to his army; and having assured himself of the truth of the facts, he began his march at the end of twelve days, and in fifteen more arrived upon the frontiers of the country of the Belgæ.

There

There the Ambassadors of the Rhemi presented themselves to him, and declared to him, that their Nation entirely submitted to the orders of the Roman People. That they were the only Nation among the Belgæ, who would not enter into the confederation, nor take up arms; and that the rage of war had seized in such a manner on mens minds, that they could not bring back even those of the Soissons, who were their allies, their brethren, governed by the same laws, and by the same magistrates. Cæsar asking them what were the forces of the Confederates, they told him that the * Bellovaci were the most powerful, and most numerous people of them all; that they were able to raise an hundred thousand armed men, and that they had promised sixty thousand. That the quota of those of Soissons was fifty thousand men; and that their King Galba, who had a great reputation for justice and prudence, had the general command of the whole war. They numbered a great many other people, who possessed the country as far as the Rhine, the chief of which were † the Nervii, and the ‡ Aduatici. Some Germans also on this side the Rhine were entered into the league; and the number of all these troops together amounted to above three hundred thousand fighting men. We shall be the less surprized at this number, which seems prodigious, if we remember, that, at that time,

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The Rhemi

make their
submission

to Cæsar,
and inform

him of the
strength of

the league,
which

amounted to
more than

300,000
fighting

men.

* Those of Beauvais.

† The Nervii possessed the country between the Scheld and the Sambre. The chief cities attributed to them were Cam-

bray, Valenciennes and Tournay.

‡ The people who inhabited the banks of the Meuse, about Namur, according to the opinion of several geographers.

A. R. 695
Ant. C. 57

every citizen was a soldier; and that neither letters nor arts exempted any, but the Druids, from military duty.

Cæsar, well pleased with the obedience and submission of the Rhemi, nevertheless used the precaution to require hostages from them. At the same time he thought of making a diversion, that he might not be obliged to fight with this terrible multitude of the Belgæ all at once; and, to this end, he engaged Divitiacus to prevail upon the Edueni to enter with arms upon the lands of the Bellovaci, thus making use of one part of the Gauls to subdue the other.

Cæsar goes to encamp on the other side the river Aisne.

He soon learnt that the army of the Belgæ advanced with great speed, and came towards him. He passed the river Aisne, to go himself to meet them, and encamped advantageously on a little hill, supporting one of his flanks by the right bank of the river. In this position he secured his rear, and made it easy to bring provisions from the Rhemi and the other people his Allies. There was a bridge over this river at some distance from the camp; at the head of which Cæsar placed a good guard, and caused a fort to be built on the other side, where he left Q. Titurius Sabinus, a Lieutenant-General, with six Cohorts.

Several enterprizes of the Belgæ, all without success.

The Belgæ finding the town of Bibrax* in their way, which was but eight miles from Cæsar's camp, and which belonged to the Rhemi, were going to assault it. But a succour Cæsar sent thither forced them to aban-

* It is at this day a little name. It is called Bievre, place, which still preserves between Pont à were and some marks of its antient Laon.

don their design, and they came and posted themselves within two thousand yards of the Romans. Their camp took up more than eight thousand in circumference.

Cæsar, at their approach, added new intrenchments to his camp, resolved to spin out the time a little, and try the enemy first in skirmishes. The success therein was so good, that he thought he might hazard a general action. He therefore left the two legions he had newly raised to guard the camp, and went out with the six others which he ranged in order of battle, not willing, however, to lose the advantageous ground, and without quitting the little hill upon which he was encamped. The Belgæ also set themselves in order of battle at the head of their camp: but there was a morass between the two armies, that neither the one or the other would pass in sight of the enemy: therefore there was only a combat of the horse, in which the Romans had some superiority, after which Cæsar withdrew his troops into his camp.

The Belgæ saw that they were not able to do any thing against Cæsar; therefore they formed the design of fording the river, and going on the other side to attack the fort where Titurius commanded, to carry it if possible, and break down the bridge. Cæsar, having timely notice of this by his Lieutenant, decamped with all his cavalry, light-armed men and archers, passed the bridge, and arrived on the other side, while the enemy were embarrassed in passing the river; and whatever efforts of bravery they made, even to the using the dead bodies of their fellow-soldiers to make a bridge

to

A. R. 695.
Ant. C. 67.

to get over, he slew many of them, and forced the rest to retreat.

They separate, and retire every one to his own country.

The Belgæ disheartened, seeing they could succeed in nothing, on the other hand their provisions began to fail them; lastly, the Bellovaci learnt, that an army of the Edueni, commanded by Divitiacus, was entered into their country. They held a Council, and the Bellovaci having declared, that they were resolved to go and defend their country, their example was followed by all the rest. It was agreed that the army should separate; that each Nation should retire to their own country, and that as soon as one canton should be attacked, all the others should reassemble, to march to the succour of those who were in danger.

Cæsar pursues them, and kills a great number of them.

This resolution, not well understood in itself, was very difficult to put in execution. They undertook to make their retreat in sight of the enemy, which is always very dangerous. This was proved by the Belgæ, and so much the more as they observed no order, every one striving to be first in the extreme haste they were in to get home: so that their departure was like a flight. They decamped at the fourth hour of the night; and Cæsar was immediately informed of it. Nevertheless, he did not presently make any motion, fearing an ambuscade. At the point of day, upon new advices that he received, which fully assured him, that the enemy was retreated, he detached all his horse, and afterwards three legions under the command of Labienus, to pursue them. The Romans killed a great number, and without any danger, because only those who were attacked defended themselves. The others who were got before, instead of supporting

ing their countrymen, seeing the danger from ^{A. R. 695.} far, thought only how to get farther from it, ^{Ant. C. 57.} by gaining their country. Thus the slaughter was very great all the day long. In the evening Labienus and the Roman cavalry, returned to the camp, according to Cæsar's orders.

This General, always active, failed not to ^{He reduces} take advantage of the error committed by the ^{to obedience} enemy, in separating their forces. He put ^{those of} himself on the march the next day, to enter ^{Soissons, of} into the country of the Soissons, and made ^{Beauvais,} such haste, that he arrived before the capital ^{and of} before even the troops of the country, who ^{Amiens.} had quitted the army of the Belgæ. Those of Soissons submitted, and were disarmed. Beauvais and Amiens followed the same example, and had the same fate.

The Nervii were not so tractable. Far from ^{The pride} being disposed to surrender themselves, they ^{of Nervii.} taxed with cowardice those who had taken this ^{They pre-} shameful step, unworthy, according to them, ^{pare them-} the glory and name of the Belgæ. Proud and ^{selves to} indocile, they had no taste of any thing but arms, ^{receive the} and even took pains to drive away every thing ^{Roman} that might bring knowledge, or the love of ^{army.} pleasure among them. For this reason they would not suffer any merchants to enter their country, nor that any wine should be brought into it, which they very justly looked upon as capable by its sweetness to soften their courage and weaken their virtue. After this it is not to be wondered at, that servitude should seem to them the height of ignominy. They inspired the Artesii and Veromandui, their neighbours, with the same sentiments, and these three people united prepared to receive the Roman army. They used the precaution to put
in

A. R. 695.
Ant. C. 57.

in safety their wives, their old men, and their children, by withdrawing them to a place, into which the army could not penetrate on account of a morass that encompassed it.

*A bloody
battle
wherein
the Ro-
mans, af-
ter having
been in
very great
danger, re-
main con-
querors.*

When Cæsar came to them, he found them behind the Sambre, which in that place might have about three feet depth, and which was bordered by two hills, on the right and left: The army of the Nervii and of their allies did not appear at all, because they were all entirely in a wood, very thick, on the top of the little hill to the right of the river. Only some advanced guards of the cavalry shewed themselves at the foot of the little hill, that was naked, and lay open. The Roman cavalry, which marched at the head, perceiving this little body of the enemy, passed the river, and put them to flight; but as they stopped at the entrance of the wood, these same troops returning to the charge, and afterwards retreating, occasioned the battle to last for a considerable time: however six Roman Legions arrived at the top of the hill to the left of the Sambre, and began to prepare a camp there.

The Nervii had been informed by deserters, that in the march every Legion was followed by its baggage; so that from the first to the last there was a very great interval, and that it would be easy to cope with one or two Legions before the other could come up to their assistance: but Cæsar, when he approached the enemy had changed this order. Six Legions marched in a line, afterwards all the baggage of the army, and the march was closed by the two Legions levied the last. When the Nervii saw the first baggage, they concluded that was the proper time for the attack. They
went

went out of the wood in good order, over-
threw the Roman cavalry, passed the river, got
up the little hill, where the six Legions were
at work to fortify the camp, and all this was
done with such vivacity, and such fury, that it
caused a great consternation among the Ro-
mans.

A. R. 965.
Ant. C. 57.

Cæsar confesses that he could not find time to give all his orders, and to make all the necessary dispositions for a battle. Two things supplied these defects. One was the ability and good discipline of his soldiers, who knew of themselves what ought to be done, without standing in need of being instructed in every particular when time pressed: the other was the precaution he had taken, to order his Lieutenant-Generals to remain each at the head of his Legion till the works of the camp were entirely finished. Thus every Legion had its Commander, who regulated their motions, without waiting for those orders which their circumstances at that time would not allow them to take from their General. The soldiers and the officers had not even time to put on their helmets, nor to take the skins off their shields with which they covered them on a march. They ranged themselves under the first colours they perceived, for fear of losing time by every one's seeking for his own.

Cæsar found himself near the tenth Legion. He ran to it, and after having given the signal for fighting, and put things in order, he went to another place, where they were already engaged. Chance rather ruled in the different dispositions than the prudence or orders of the General. There were three distinct and separate battles formed; two Legions were over
against

A. R. 695.
Ant. C. 57.

against the Artesii, whom they defeated, and drove immediately to the other side the river; afterwards, having passed it themselves, they began the battle a new, where the enemy had the advantage of the ground; but nevertheless they put them to flight, and penetrated into their camp, which they seized. Two other Legions repulsed the Veromandui, but did not entirely break them; and they fought on the banks of the river.

The Roman camp was thus left almost without defence, there remaining but two Legions in it. The Nervii fell upon them, and endeavoured to flank them where they lay most open. The two Legions fought with great bravery, but the parties being very unequal, they were extremely pressed. The Roman cavalry, which had been broken by the first shock of the enemy, returned to the camp, and finding the Nervii there, took to flight a second time. The servants of the army, who had seen the Artesii repulsed and vanquished, came out with a design to plunder; but were extremely surprized to see the enemy behind them, and ran away with all the speed they could: at the same time the cries of those were heard, who arrived with the baggage. The confusion and fright were so great, that some of the squadrons of the cavalry of Treves, who served as auxiliaries to the Romans, were seized with the panic, notwithstanding the bravery which that nation piqued themselves upon above all the other people of Gaul, and ran together as far as their own country, carrying thither an account that Cæsar's army was defeated.

At

At the instant of the greatest danger Cæsar arrived. He found the twelfth Legion crouded together in a heap, and almost in a desperate condition. Every Captain of one of the Cohorts that composed it was killed, and those of the others were, for the most part, either killed or wounded; and in particular the first Captain of the Legion, P. Sextius a man of great courage was reduced, by his wounds, to be hardly able to support himself. The soldiers fought very faintly, and were rather endeavouring to avoid the strokes of the enemy than to return them. Cæsar snatched a buckler from a foot soldier, and ran to put himself at the head of the Legion. He called the Captains by their names, he exhorted the soldiers, and cried out to them to advance towards the enemy, and to widen their ranks a little, that they might more conveniently make use of their swords. The sight of the General re-animated their fainting spirits, and every one sought to deserve his praise by some noble action performed before his eyes.

The seventh Legion was not far off. Cæsar gave orders for it to approach, by little and little, to the twelfth, and to range itself in the same line, in order to extend the front, and by that means to put it out of the enemy's power to surround them.

The two Legions that were thought to be lost, now began to respire. But what redoubled their confidence was the arrival of two Legions, which marched in the train of the baggage. At the same time Labienus, who had taken the enemy's camp, perceiving from the top of the little hill, where he was, what passed in the Roman camp, detached the tenth Legion, which

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which flew to the succour of its General. This reinforcement fully restored the courage of the twelfth and seventh Legions; and Cæsar saw several of them, who, being overcome with weariness and wounds, were lying on the ground, raise themselves up and support themselves upon their bucklers, to renew the fight. At length the Roman cavalry, willing to blot out the disgrace of their flight, returned to the charge, and attacked the enemy on every side.

They must needs have sunk under the weight of so many united efforts against them, had they not acted prodigies of valour. Cæsar saw, that after those of the first ranks were killed, the others not only stood firm, but advanced, and continued fighting over the bodies of their comrades. And the number of the dead was become so large, that they made heaps of them, and mounting thereon, as from an eminence, they threw their own darts, and what javelins of the Romans they had been able to lay hold on.

In so obstinate a battle the whole nation was extirpated, in so much, that their old men and women, in sending to implore the clemency of Cæsar, to move his commiseration, declared to him, that of six hundred Senators, there remained but three; and that of sixty thousand men capable of bearing arms, there were scarce five hundred preserved. Cæsar took pity on the deplorable remains of this brave People; he placed them under his protection, and expressly forbid all their neighbours to do them any hurt. He had done them enough himself.

So terrible an example could not determine the Aduatici voluntarily to submit to the law
of

of the conqueror. This nation was a remnant of the Cimbri, who advancing towards the south, left their heavy baggage on this side the left bank of the Rhine with six thousand of their men to guard it. After the Cimbri and the Teutoni had been defeated, and even destroyed by Marius, these six thousand men supported themselves by their valour in the midst of the neighbouring People, who attacked them, and they must have greatly increased their number by their conquests, and by incorporating with them the vanquished People, since at the time that we are speaking of, that is to say, the forty-fourth year after the last victory of Marius, the Aduatici were in a condition to furnish nine thousand fighting men for their contingent to the league of the Belgæ. When they understood that the Nervii were attacked, they put themselves on the march to come to their succour: but the battle being fought before their arrival, they returned precipitately into their own country, and having abandoned all the little forts and villages they had, they shut themselves up in their principal city, which some suppose to have been Namur. This town was well fortified, and they prepared themselves to make a vigorous defence.

They made some sallies at first, when the Roman army arrived before the place; but a good line of countervallation of twelve feet deep, fifteen thousand paces in circumference, and every where well fortified with redoubts, soon put it out of their power to do so any more. At the same time the Galleries were preparing to make the approaches, and Cæsar also ordered a tower to be built. The Aduatici seeing from the top of their walls the men at

A. R. 695.
Ant. C. 57.
Cæsar attacks the Aduatici, who endeavour to defend themselves in their principal town.

The jur-prize of the Aduatici to see the Roman machines. They surrender.

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Ant. C. 57.

work on this tower, at a considerable distance, made a scoff of the Romans; and asked them with insolence what use they pretended to make of a machine so far off; and whether such little men as they were (for, says Cæsar, the Gauls, who are all large, very much despised our small stature) could have arms long enough, and sufficient strength to place a tower of such enormous weight upon the walls of the town? But when they saw the tower move and approach towards them, this new and surprizing spectacle terrified them in such a manner, that they sent Deputies immediately to Cæsar, who told him, “ that they could not doubt but that
“ the gods fought for the Romans, when they
“ saw them advance such tall and weighty
“ machines with so much ease and readiness.
“ That they therefore yielded to him, and put
“ their destiny in his hands. But that if he
“ would use his wonted clemency, and pre-
“ serve the Aduatic Nation, they begged he
“ would not instantly disarm them; because
“ they had need of their arms to defend them-
“ selves against their neighbours, who all en-
“ vied them for their virtue. That they would
“ rather choose to be extirpated, if it must be
“ so, by the Romans, than suffer all kinds of
“ indignities and punishments from those of
“ whom they thought themselves the masters.” Cæsar promised them life and liberty, if they surrendered before the battering rams had struck their walls: But he was inflexible upon the article of arms, which he would have absolutely delivered up to him, offering them only the safeguard that he had allowed the Nervii.

*Their
fraud fol-
lowed
with the
worst
success.*

The Deputies re-entered the town, and afterwards returned to assure Cæsar of the submission

tion

sion of the inhabitants, who threw so great a quantity of arms into the fossé, that the heap reached up to the top of their walls; and then they opened their gates, and received the Romans. Towards the evening Cæsar, who did not at all mistrust them, suffered them to shut their gates, and make his troops go out of the town, lest they should insult or ill use the inhabitants: but they had acted treacherously, and reserved about one third part of their arms, and having others made rough and in haste, they turned out about midnight, and came to attack Cæsar's intrenchments at the place where they thought they could scale them the most easily. They hoped to have surprised the Romans; but were mistaken, for so good order was established in the camp of Cæsar, that in an instant, the signals being given, with fire from one redoubt to another, the Romans were in a state of defence. The battle was furious. The Aduatici mounted to the assault with incredible courage, which was heightened by their despair. At length, after having lost four thousand of their men, they were drove back into the town, of which Cæsar the next day burst open the gates without finding any resistance. And both men and booty were all sold. The number of prisoners thus reduced to slavery, amounted to fifty-three thousand heads.

At the same time that Cæsar made war in *The mari-* person against the Belgæ, young Crassus, with *time coast-* one legion, subdued all the maritime coast, *of Celtica* from the mouth of the Seine to that of the *subdued by* P. Crassus. Loire.

A. R. 695.

Ant. C. 57.

*Embassies
from the
German
nations to
Cæsar.*

The report of these exploits was carried beyond the Rhine, and several German nations sent Ambassadors to make their submission to Cæsar. But as he was very desirous to hasten into Italy, he could not immediately give them audience, but put them off till next spring. He took only the time necessary to distribute his troops in winter-quarters, in the countries of Chartres, Anjou, and Tourraine, after which he went, according to custom, into Cisalpine Gaul.

*Rejoicings
ordered for
fifteen days
at Rome,
on account
of Cæsar's
victories.*

The news of his victories was received with such applause at Rome, that thanksgivings to the gods were ordered, the solemnity of which lasted for fifteen days : a number which exceeded what had been allowed to any General before him, even to Pompey itself. If Pompey was jealous of this, he did not let it appear. But it was great imprudence in him to suffer Cæsar to accustom himself to a superiority, from which it would be difficult to bring him down.

*Galba,
Cæsar's
Lieutenant,
makes war
during the
winter,
with some
people of
the Alps.
Cæf. de
B. G.
L. III.*

Cæsar, at his going away for Italy, ordered Servius Galba, one of his Lieutenant-Generals, to go with the twelfth legion into the country of the Nantuates *, the Sedunians, and the Veragrians, to secure the free passage of the Alps, which the Merchants were oftentimes obliged to purchase with money, and great dangers. Galba at first found but little difficulty in the execution of this order. Some slight battles, followed by the taking some castles, sufficed to reduce these people to give hostages, and make their submission. He therefore thought he might securely take up his winter-quarters

* Upper and Lower Vallain.

in a country of which he was master; and having left two cohorts upon the territories of the Nantuates, he came with the remaining eight to settle himself at * Oëtodurum, a small village of the Veragrians, which the Dranse divides in two. He abandoned one of the two parts to the natives of the country, and began to intrench himself in the other.

A. R. 695.
Ant. C. 57.

His works were not quite finished before he heard, that all the country was risen in arms, and that he was going to be assailed by a cloud of mountaineers. He called a Council, and the danger appeared so great to some, that they were of opinion, that they ought to think only of a speedy retreat, leaving their baggage in the power of the enemy. The greatest number thought they ought not to have recourse to so desperate a resolution, but at the last extremity, and that they should begin to defend their intrenchments.

They had scarce time to make the necessary preparations, the enemy was approached so near. Thirty thousand mountaineers came to attack eight cohorts, which all together did not make above four thousand. In an number so unequal, the assailants had the advantage of constantly sending fresh troops, whereas the Romans, not only those that were fatigued, but even the wounded could not take their necessary repose, because there wanted men to replace them.

The battle had lasted six hours, and the Gauls already began to break the palisades and fill up the fosses. In this extremity, P. Sextius, that brave Captain, of whom mention has

* Martigni.

A. R. 695.
Ant. C. 57.

been made in the battle with the Nervii, and a military Tribune, named C. Volusenus, an excellent Officer, came to Galba, and represented to him, that it would not be possible to defend their lines, if they did not make a vigorous sally, that might give the enemy some trouble. This counsel was approved; Galba ordered the soldiers to take some little refreshment, contenting himself, in the mean time, to ward off the enemy's strokes, without returning any himself, when at a signal given the Romans rushed out at once from all their gates, and made so brisk a charge, that the mountaineers, who did not expect it, were absolutely put in disorder. It was not possible for them to reconnoitre their forces; but they were obliged to fly, leaving ten thousand of their men upon the place.

Galba nevertheless did not think it proper to expose himself to a second attack. He burnt all the houses in the little village of Octodurum, went over to the Nantuates to take his two cohorts again, and came to finish his winter-quarters in the Roman Province,

S E C T. IV.

Cæsar's secret motives for going to Italy in the winter. Ptolemy Auletes drove out of Egypt. Theophanes, the friend of Pompey, suspected to have engaged the King of Egypt to retire. Wholesome advice ineffectually given by Cato to Auletes. Auletes comes to Rome. His daughter Berenice is put upon the throne by the Alexandrians, and is first married to Seleucus Cybiosactes, afterwards to Archelaus. The Ambassadors from the Alexandrians at Rome, assassinated, gained over, or intimidated by Ptolomy. The commission to re-establish the King of Egypt given to Spinther by the Senate, but sought for by Pompey. The pretended oracle of the Sybil, which forbade the entering into Egypt with an army. The intrigues of Pompey to procure the commission for re-establishing Auletes. The affair remains in suspense. Cicero carries a good face through the whole. Clodius being Ædile, accuses Milo before the People. Pompey pleading for Milo is insulted by Clodius. The answer of the Southsayers applied by Clodius to Cicero, and retorted by Cicero on Clodius. Cicero takes away from the Capitol the tables of the laws of Clodius. A coolness, on this account, between Cicero and Cato. The singular situation of Pompey, the butt of all parties. He is hated by the common people. An object of jealousy to the zealous Republicans. Mistrusts both Crassus and Cæsar. Some bold passages of Cicero against Cæsar. The uneasiness of Cæsar. A new Confederacy between Cæsar, Pompey and Crassus. Their interview. The

numerous Court of Cæsar at Lucus. Cæsar complains of Cicero to Pompey. Reproaches made by Pompey to Cicero. Cicero resolves to support the interests of Cæsar. He makes an apology for this change. What were his real sentiments. Cicero gives his vote in the Senate for Cæsar's having the Government of the two Gauls. Piso recalled from Macedonia, Gabinius continues in Syria. Cicero employs himself much in pleading. The dispositions made by Pompey and Crassus to get the Consulship. Three of the Tribunes, in concert with Pompey, hinder the election of the Magistrates. The ineffectual endeavours of the Consul Marcellinus, and the Senate, to overcome the obstinacy of the Tribunes. Clodius insults the Senate. The Consul would oblige Pompey and Crassus to explain themselves. Their answers. An universal consternation in Rome. The interregnum. Domitius alone persists in demanding the Consulship with Pompey and Crassus. He is removed out of the way by violence, and through the fear of death. Pompey and Crassus are named Consuls. They prevent Cato's obtaining the Prætorship, and cause Vatinius to be preferred to him. Pompey presides at the election of Ædiles. His robe is made bloody there. The Tribune Trebonius proposes a law to give the governments of Spain and Syria to the Consuls. The law passes in spite of the opposition of Cato and two of the Tribunes. Pompey gets Cæsar continued in the Government of Gaul for five years, notwithstanding the representation of Cato and Cicero. A new disposition introduced, by a law of Pompey, in the choice of Judges. A law against canvassing at elections. A scheme for a
new

new sumptuary law. The luxury of the Romans. The theatre of Pompey. Games given to the People by Pompey, at the dedicating his theatre. The commiseration of the People for the elephants killed in these games. The province of Syria falls to Crassus, and that of Spain to Pompey, who governs by his Lieutenants. The extravagant joy, and chimerical projects of Crassus. The murmuring of the citizens against the war which Crassus was preparing to make with the Parthians. The dreadful ceremony made use of by one of the Tribunes to load him with imprecations. A pretended bad omen. Cauneas. Crassus before his departure reconciles himself to Cicero. Scaurus, Philippus, Marcellinus and Gabinius successively governors of Syria. Troubles excited in Judea by Alexander the son of Aristobulus. Gabinius settles matters there with great activity. He demands the honour of Supplications, which is refused him. Marc Anthony begins to signalize himself. His birth. The original cause of his hatred to Cicero. Very debauched in his youth. He attaches himself to Clodius, afterwards quits him to go into Greece. Gabinius gives him the command of the horse in his army. He makes himself adored by the soldiers. His excessive liberality. Aristobulus, having saved himself at Rome, renews the war in Judea, is vanquished and retaken. Gabinius leaves the war against the Arabs, to carry it on with the Parthians. Ptolomy Auletes brings him back towards Egypt. Archelaus then reigned in Egypt with Berenice. Anthony, seconded by Hyrcanus and Antipater, forces the passages of Egypt, and takes Pelusium. The baseness and effeminacy of the Alexandrians. Archelaus is killed,

killed, and Ptolomy re-established. New troubles in Judea. The defeat of Alexander the son of Aristobulus. Gabinius is obliged to yield the command of his army to Crassus. A general disgust in the minds of men at Rome against Gabinius. The characters of the two Consuls. Gabinius returns to Rome. He is accused of the crime of public Lese-Majesty, and acquitted. The public indignation against this infamous judgment. He is accused of extortion. Cicero pleads for him. Gabinius is condemned. Vatinius defended in like manner by Cicero, and acquitted. The great grief with which Cicero is touched, in being obliged to defend his enemies.

A. R. 695.
Ant. C. 57.

P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER.

Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

Cæsar's secret motives for going to Italy in the winter.
Cæf. de B.
G. III. 1.

THE motive which Cæsar assigns for his taking a journey in the winter, was the desire he had to visit Illyria, which made a part of his Government, and where he had not yet been: but secret reasons beyond comparison more interesting, carried him into Italy. He was willing to confer with his friends and creatures at Rome, and especially with Pompey and Crassus. Before we give an account of this interview and these intrigues, we ought to speak here of what remains to be related of the events, and affairs of the city under the Consulship of Lentulus and Metellus Nepos.

Ptolomy Auletes drove out of Egypt.
Dio, L.
xxxix.

An object which very much employed the public care, was the re-establishment of Ptolomy Auletes, King of Egypt. This Prince had been at enormous expences, and contracted very great debts, to bring about his being acknowledged

knowledge King, friend and ally of the Roman Empire; finding himself therefore quite drained, he loaded his people with exorbitant impositions, which rendered him odious to them. He was otherwise despised for his personal conduct, which discovered nothing but shameful debaucheries, accompanied by a meanness altogether unworthy of the royal dignity. Even the surname of Auletes, which signified *a player upon the flute*, was a proof of it. He was passionately fond of this instrument, to such a degree that he established prizes to be contended for in his palace by the flute, and was not ashamed to enter the lists himself, and dispute them with other musicians. At last, when the Romans prepared to invade the isle of Cyprus, the indifference of Ptolomy with regard to this rich and antient appendage to the kingdom of Egypt, made an end of exasperating the whole nation against him. He did not think himself in safety, and therefore stealing away privately, he resolved to go to Rome to implore the succour of his patrons against his rebel subjects, by whom he said he was drove away and dethroned.

Timagenes, an historian famous for the licence of his pen, and his love of slander, has wrote, that it was Theophanes the Mitylenean, a friend and confidant of Pompey, that engaged Auletes to quit Egypt, without any very great reason; and that the motive for such perfidious advice was to procure for Pompey an occasion to re-establish that Prince by a war, and that way to revive his military glory, and refresh his quarrels which began to fade. I make no difficulty of the blackness of this affair on the part of Theophanes, a man without honour, and sold in

A. R. 695.
Ant. C. 37.

Strabo,
L. xvii.
p. 797.

Theophanes, the friend of Pompey, suspected to have engaged the King of Egypt to retire.
Plut. Pomp.

A. R. 695.
Ant. C. 57.

in such a manner to Pompey, that with a design to make his court to him he had no fear, as I have said elsewhere, to employ, in his works, the most atrocious calumny and grossest malice against the most virtuous of the Romans. Plutarch will not allow, that Pompey could be capable of an ambition so full of malignity and indecency. It is nevertheless very certain, that Ptolomy demanded to be re-established by him, and that Pompey, on his side, supported this demand, and strongly desired, though ineffectually, that it might succeed.

*Wholesome
advice
given by
Cato to
Auletes.
Plut. Cat.*

This fugitive King received very good advice upon the road, but knew not how to make his advantage of it. At his arrival at Rhodes, he met Cato, who was going to Cyprus. Ptolomy sent to salute him, reckoning he would come to see him, but Cato sent word if the King of Egypt had any occasion to speak with him, he might take the pains to come to him himself. He came, and when he entered, Cato did not rise to him, nor shew him any ceremony, only pointed with his hand to a seat for him to sit down. Ptolomy was extremely surprized to see himself treated with so much haughtiness, and especially by a man who in his outward appearance had nothing but what was plain and modest. Nevertheless he was not abashed, but talked to him of his affairs. When Cato represented to him, with an air of authority, that it was very unwise in him to quit a happy and splended situation, to go and make himself a slave to the great men at Rome, to dance attendance oftentimes in their anti-chambers, and purchase the protection of covetous persons, who would not be satisfied with all Egypt when they had bought it, and that he

he would carry them the price of it. He exhorted him therefore to reconcile himself to his subjects, and even offered to accompany him, and become himself the mediator of the peace. Ptolomy, at this discourse, seemed like one just come out of a fit of drunkenness or madness. He saw clearly, and resolved to follow the advice that was given him; but some of his unfaithful, or at least, rash friends persuaded him to the contrary. When he was at Rome, and experienced the pride, the cruelty, the avidity of those to whom he was obliged to make his court, he repented, but too late, of having neglected such wholesome counsel, which then seemed to him not to come from a wise man, but to be the oracle of a god.

In the mean time the Alexandrians seeing themselves abandoned by their King, placed Berenice, his eldest daughter upon the throne; for his two sons were yet very young which made them prefer her. They afterwards sought a husband for this Princess, and cast their eyes on Seleucus surnamed Cybiosactes, brother of Antiochus the Asiatic, of the race of the Seleucides. Seleucus had a propensity to nothing but what was base. The surname which I have mentioned, which was given him in derision, signifies a seller (a) or loader of fish. He valued nothing but money, and his covetousness carried him so far, that he stole the coffin of gold, that inclosed the corpse of Alexander, and substituted one of glass in its room. The Egyptians could not bear a King, nor Berenice an husband of such a character,

* *Kυβισακτῆς* comes from *Κύβητος*, which signifies sunny prepared and salted, and *σαῖρος* to load.

therefore

A. R. 695. therefore she caused the latter to be strangled.
 Ant. C. 57.

She afterwards married, as we shall relate hereafter, Archelaus Pontiff of Comana, son of the famous Archelaus, the General of Mithridates, first conquered by Sylla, and afterwards honoured by him with the title of ally of the Romans.

The Ambassadors of the Alexandrians at Rome assassinated, gained over, or intimidated by Ptolemy.

When the Alexandrians learnt that Ptolemy was at Rome, they sent thither a numerous embassy, composed of an hundred Deputies, to defend themselves against the reproaches of their King, and to complain of his violences, and his injustice. Never had any embassy worse success. Auletes caused many of these Deputies to be assassinated on the road, others in Rome, some were gained over, and all the rest intimidated; so that the Senate would not so much as have heard this embassy spoke of, if Favonius, who in the absence of Cato endeavoured to supply his place, had not raised his voice against this multiplicity of attempts. The Senate ordered, that Dio, the chief of the embassy, an academic Philosopher, should be called and heard. But this Dio himself was soon after assassinated; and the money of Ptolemy, supported by the power of Pompey, who lodged him in his own house, and openly protected him, almost entirely stifled this odious affair. Some Romans were brought to a trial, as having been concerned in the assassination of Dio, and this was one of the chief articles of the accusation against Cælius, whom Cicero defended the year following. Not only Cælius was absolved; but the greatest part of the rest, whom there was the most reason to believe culpable; so that it appeared, that the lamentable fate of these unhappy strangers without

Cic. pro
 M. Cæl.
 23, 24.

without protection, was looked upon with great indifference at Rome. A. R. 695.
Ana. C. 57.

The commission for re-establishing Auletes, was what drew the greatest attention, as it was the means of acquiring both money and honour. Lentulus Spinther, actually Consul, and who after his Consulship was to go and command in Cilicia and Cyprus, had this employment given him by the Senate; and nothing could be more natural or more suitable. But Pompey had a mind to it, and he knew how to make the People grant him that which he could not obtain by the voice of the Senate. An incident happened at this time which no one could have expected.

The statue of Jupiter on mount Albanus having been struck by thunder, the books of the Sibyl were consulted thereupon, wherein this oracle was found: *When the King of Egypt shall come to demand succours of you, do not refuse him your friendship; but employ not a multitude of men to defend him, without which you will be exposed to many dangers, and to many evils.* The pretended oracle of the Sibyl, which forbade the entering into Egypt with an army. It was very plain that this pretended oracle was made for the purpose, and foisted into the Sibylline books, either equally to mortify Lentulus and Pompey, or to prevent the commission to re-establish Ptolomy, from becoming an apple of contention between them, which might perhaps disturb the Commonwealth. The stratagem had its effect, and C. Cato, a Tribune of the People, who it is very likely was in the plot, made so much noise about the oracle, that they were obliged to submit to it, and renounce the design of entering into Egypt with an army. While all this was in agitation, the new Consuls entered upon their office.

A. R. 696.

Ant. C. 56.

CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS.
L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

The Consul L. Marcius was the second husband of Atia, the niece of Cæsar and mother of Augustus.

The intrigues of Pompey to procure the commission for re-establishing Auletes.
Cic ad Fam. I.

The commission for re-establishing the King of Egypt, was much sunk in its value, since it excluded the command of an army which was destined for that work. Nevertheless such as it was, and in that stript condition, it did not cease to be the object of jealousy. Lentulus Spinther, to whom it had been given, desired ardently to keep it. Pompey continued to be ambitious of it, but, after his manner, concealing his game, pretended strongly, both in private conversations and in his speeches in full Senate, to favour Lentulus, while his friends in giving their votes, conferred that employment upon him himself, and whilst Ptolomy expended large sums to gain him Suffrages. Things were carried so far, that, as it plainly appeared that Pompey could not succeed by the Senate, the Tribune Caninius Gallus proposed to the People, that they should order him to be sent with no other train than two Liçtors, with the commission to restore Ptolomy to his throne. At the same time, to augment the trouble, C. Cato, although at open war with Pompey, pushed his resentment against Lentulus so far, as to undertake to get him recalled, and have his government taken from him.

Neither of these projects came to any thing. The Senate affected to retain Pompey to his honour, as judging his presence necessary to secure the tranquility and plenty of the city :
and

and Pompey, who found so many difficulties in an affair, which at bottom was not worth his trouble, cooled upon it, and formed other schemes. As to Spinther, it was easy to put a stop to the fury of C. Cato against him, or at least to prevent its effects: But the result of all was, that the re-establishment of Auletes remained in suspense, and that Prince had time enough to grow weary of Ephesus, to which place he retired towards the end of the preceding year.

A. R. 696.
Ant. C. 56.

The affair remains in suspense.

Cicero in all these intrigues carried a good face. He openly supported the interests of Lentulus, to whom he was obliged on account of his being recalled; but kept fair with Pompey at the same time, to whom the acknowledgment and care of his safety equally attached him. Placed between his two benefactors, he served one without shocking the other. The dissimulation of Pompey, who in his discourse was always favourable to Lentulus, made Cicero easy, and left him at liberty to declare himself for him who had the greatest interest in the thing, and whose pretensions appeared the most just and reasonable.

Cicero carries a good face thro' the whole.

It is surprizing that Clodius should not be an actor in so turbulent a scene. The intended accusation against him by Milo, and his pursuit of the ædileship, without doubt gave him sufficient employment; and as soon as he saw himself ædile, that is to say, in the middle of the month of January, he attacked Milo, in his turn, and cited him before the People, accusing him of the same crime for which he himself was actually in the hands of justice. He pretended that Milo was guilty of violent attempts against the public tranquility, whilst

Clodius being ædile accuses Milo before the People. Cic. ad Q. Fr. II. 2. & pro M. n. 40. Dio.

A. R. 698.
Ant. C. 56.

it was he himself whose criminal violences, threatening equally both the lives of his adversaries, and the repose of the city, had forced Milo to have recourse to a lawful and necessary defence. He did not hope to succeed in his accusation, knowing very well that Milo was supported by all the credit of Cicero and all the power of Pompey. But he rejoiced to be even with his enemy, and to insult his protectors. And, in short, it is hardly to be credited to what excess his insolence carried him upon this occasion.

*Pompey
pleading
for Milo is
insulted by
Clodius.
Cic. ad Q.
Fr. II. 3.*

Milo appeared before the People on the 2d and 6th of February; and on the last day Pompey pleaded for him: but while he was speaking, he was disturbed and interrupted a great number of times by the clamours, and even by the abuses and outrages, poured out against him by the mob in Clodius's pay. Nevertheless he stood firm, and still preserving that gravity that became him, made an end of his pleading. Clodius then rose, as it seemed to answer him: but the party of Cicero and Milo repayed him in his own coin, and interrupted him by their cries, so that what passed had more the air of a mob of porters, than of a regular Assembly, called together to sit in judgment. In the midst of all this bustle, Clodius had prepared a kind of farce to insult Pompey. He was upon the tribunal of harangues, and from thence he demanded of the troop of his attendants about him, *Who it was that made the people die of hunger?* To which they answered, forming, as it were, a chorus, *That it was Pompey.* *Who is it would go to Alexandria?* *Pompey.* *Who would you have that employment given to?* *We would have it given to Crassus.*
Crassus

Crassus was present, in no very favourable disposition towards Milo. Plutarch adds several other passages of this kind of comedy, which Pompey attacked Pompey in his personal conduct, and in his manners. This all ended in a battle between the two opposite parties. Clodius and Cicero each took to flight on their side.

A. R. 696.
Ant. C. 56.
Plut.

I do not find in any author, what was the issue of this affair. It was spun out yet for several months, and, it is very probable, was at last abandoned by the accuser.

The hatred between Clodius and Cicero was so violent, that they let slip no occasion of shewing it. There happened towards the time we are now speaking of, some pretended prodigies, upon which the southsayers were consulted. In their answer they undertook to assign the causes of the wrath of the gods manifested by these prodigies; and among these causes they mentioned, *Sacred places turned to prophane uses.* Clodius laid hold on this, and, in an harangue to the People made the application of it to the house of Cicero, consecrated, said he, by religious ceremonies to the goddess of liberty, and yet Cicero had re-established it, and made it a dwelling for himself.

The answer of the Southsayers applied by Clodius to Cicero.
Dio.

The field of battle for Clodius was the assembly of the People, that of Cicero was the Senate. When therefore in that august company, the affair of the answer of the southsayers came to be debated, our orator refuted the harangue of his enemy by a discourse, which we have under the title *de Haruspicum Responsis*. He did not content himself with proving that his house was free and could not be looked upon as a religious place; but he returned upon Clodius some of those darts which that rash man had

And refuted by Cicero on Clodius.

A. R. 696.
Ant. C. 56.

thrown at him. The answer of the southsayers took in many things, and made mention in particular of *antient and occult sacrifices polluted and prophaned*. We cannot but see that Cicero must very readily perceive in these terms the crime committed by Clodius in the mysteries of the good goddess. He even applied to him all the other parts of the answer, accompanying his reasoning with most bitter invectives.

Cicero
takes away
from the
Capitol the
tables of
the laws
of Clodius.
Dio, &
Plut. Cic.
& Cat.

From words they both proceeded to deeds. Clodius came afresh to attack the workmen who were employed about Cicero's house, and undertook to destroy it before it was finished. But Milo, his perpetual antagonist, and his scourge, ran with his People armed, and repulsed the attack. Cicero, on his side, as well to revenge himself, as to annihilate the monuments of his banishment, and the Tribuneship of Clodius, taking with him Milo and some of the Tribunes, ascended the Capitol, and would have torn down the tables on which were engraven the laws carried by his enemy. He could not succeed this first time, because Clodius, and his brother Caius, who was Prætor prevented it. But some time after, taking advantage of the absence of Clodius, he returned to the charge, and bore off all the acts of this pernicious Tribuneship.

A coolness
on this ac-
count be-
tween Ci-
cero and
Cato.

This affair had like to have embroiled him with Cato: For Cicero triumphed in his exploit, and to justify his conduct, he maintained that all that Clodius had done in his Tribuneship was void to all intents, because his introduction into the order of Plebeians, was done in contempt of the auspices, and of consequence was null. From hence it followed that Clodius not being a Plebeian, could not be a Tribune.

Now

Now if he was not legally a Tribune, all that he had done in that quality fell to the ground of itself. This reasoning was not without force, and regulated by justice might have had success. But as Cato had been sent into Cyprus by Clodius the Tribune, to attack the legitimacy of the Tribuneship of Clodius, was to attack the validity of all that Cato himself had done in Cyprus. Nevertheless he gloried in it, and for this reason was piqued at the discourse of Cicero, and maintained, that although it was true that Clodius had strangely abused his power, yet his power was legitimate. The contest became warm between Cicero and Cato, and occasioned some coolness in their friendship, but it went not far; we do not find any footsteps of this quarrel in the works of Cicero.

All these movements were but like slight mists, which could not much influence the general system of public affairs: But another sort of tempest was preparing on the part of Pompey and Cæsar.

The situation of Pompey was at that time singular. He found himself among all parties, almost equally odious to them all: so that he could not support himself by his own strength, by his creatures, nor by the men of arms who had served under him, and who were always ready to re-assemble at his orders, this, without doubt, gave him a preponderating power; but could not entirely make him easy.

The common people hated him, as the enemy of Clodius, and the Protector of Milo. Moreover provisions, with the superintendence of which he had the charge, did not yet come in sufficient quantities to restore plenty in Rome. This, without doubt, was no fault of his. The

The singular situation of Pompey, the butt of all parties. Dio, & Plut. Pomp. Cic. ad Q. Fr. II. 1.

He is hated by the common People.

A. R. 696.
Ant. C. 56.

barrenness of the lands, the draining the public Treasury, from whence very considerable sums had been taken to give to Cæsar, to Piso, and to Gabinius, were the true causes of the scarcity: But the People were untractable on account of the dearness of corn, and were always angry with those, who, by their office, had the care of providing it.

*An object
of jealousy
to the zealous Re-
publicans.*

The chiefs of the Aristocratical party, Bibulus, Curio, Hortensius, M. Lucullus, the Consul Marcellinus, were not better disposed with regard to Pompey. His power, which crushed them, they looked upon as an intolerable tyranny. Their jealousy of him, carried them far enough, as I have already observed in another place, to cherish and to caress Clodius, whom they all looked upon as a villain, but by whom they were pleased to see him they envied, mortified and humbled.

*Mistrusts
both Cras-
sus and
Cæsar.*

Pompey even mistrusted those with whom he was leagued to oppress the common liberty. He feared some secret ambushes from the side of Crassus, and explained himself thereon in full Senate: For the Tribune C. Cato having made an invective against him, Pompey answered him with vehemence, and named Crassus as the Protector of that insolent young man. He added that he should keep himself more upon his guard than Scipio Africanus had done, who was assassinated by Carbo. He still opened himself more particularly to Cicero. He said that Crassus played booty with those who envied him, that is, the zealous Republicans, to support C. Cato, and that he had furnished Clodius with money. Pompey took effectual measures to secure his life, and fortified himself with a number of soldiers, who, by his order, came

came from the countries in the neighbourhood, and placed themselves about him. A. R. 696.
Ant. C. 36.

The rapid progress of the glory, and of the power of Cæsar gave Pompey another sort of uneasiness. He saw with grief that the exploits of Cæsar, great in themselves, and moreover heightened by the merit and charm of novelty drew all men's attention to them; while he was eclipsed day by day, only supporting himself by the remembrance of his passed victories, the lustre of which diminished in proportion to the distance of time. Even the habit of seeing him constantly in Rome for a number of years, lessened, as is common, all esteem and admiration, whilst Cæsar being absent, his power grew to such a degree as to obtain from the Senate what it can hardly be believed he could formerly have carried by his seditious intrigues with the People. For the Senate had granted him considerable sums to pay his troops, and had chosen ten Commissioners to settle with him the state of his conquests: This was looked upon as a great honour done to the Generals, and was not commonly ordered till after the war was entirely finished. Cic. ad
Fam. I. 7.

It was not from his splendid victories alone that he gained to himself all this consideration and all this power; but from his money and his management; for while he seemed to be far off, making war with the Suevii and the Belgæ, he was, in a manner, present in the middle of Rome, and giving motion to all their affairs. He raised there a power which rivaled that of Pompey, sending to Rome all the riches that he drew from the conquered countries, and distributing gold and silver, Plut. Cæs.

A. R. 696.
Ant. Q. 56.

with profusion, to the Ædiles, to the Prætors, to the Consuls and to their wives, in such a manner as made him a prodigious number of creatures. Pompey saw all this, and was extremely chagreened; he who from his youth had always been in possession of the first rank, to find himself in danger of being eclipsed and supplanted by a man, whose grandeur he looked upon as the work of his own hand.

Some bold passages of Cicero against Cæsar.

I suspect that these secret dispositions of Pompey, which were well known to Cicero, inspired our Orator with the boldness to venture at some daring strokes against Cæsar, which he made at the time we are speaking of. P. Sextius, one of the Tribunes, who had laboured for his being recalled, was accused this year on account of violences committed by him, as was said, during his Tribuneship. Cicero defended him, and shewed his acknowledgment to a man to whom he really owed much, but who, by his ill humour, had given him a good deal of reason to be dissatisfied with him. In this cause, Vatinius, who having been Tribune while Cæsar was Consul, had served him in all his unjust and ambitious enterprizes, appeared as an evidence against the accused. There was between him and Cicero a sharp altercation, in which Vatinius reproached Cicero, that the prosperity of Cæsar had reconciled him to that happy General. Cicero replied, that he should prefer the lot of Bibulus, all humbled as he appeared, to all the victories and all the triumphs of his adversaries; and he said, on another occasion, that those who had driven him from his house were the same who had hindered Bibulus from going out of his. This was very plainly aimed at Cæsar. All the discourse

Cic. ad
Fam. I. 9.
& ad Q.
F. III. 4.

discourse that he pronounced against Vatinius, and which we have, is in the same stile. It is from one end to the other a very strong censure on the Tribuneship of Vatinius, and a counterblow to the Consulship of Cæsar.

Cicero did more. In an assembly of the Senate, which was held on the 5th of April, Pompey having demanded money to buy corn, forty millions of * sesterces were granted him. From whence an occasion was taken to speak of the exhausting the public treasure, and of the means of restoring it. When Cicero started a proposition, which had been made, without effect, four months before by the Tribune P. Rutilius Lupus, he was of opinion, that the Senate should deliberate, on the 5th of May following, what was convenient to be done with respect to the territory of Capua, which had been divided among twenty thousand citizens by the law of Cæsar; and a Senatusconsultum was made agreeable to this advice; which was to cut Cæsar to the quick, for he had nothing more at heart than the preservation of the acts of his Consulship.

This decree very much disturbed Cæsar's repose; and there was yet another subject of great uneasiness preparing for him. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus was to demand the Consulship for the following year, which, according to all rules, could not be refused to a man of his name and rank, who, as Cicero expresses it (a), was destined to be Consul for as many years as he could reckon from the time of his birth.

* About 250,000 l. sterling.

(a) Qui tot annos, quot habet, designatus Consul fuerit.
Cic. ad Att. IV. 8.

A. R. 696. Now Domitius was a declared enemy of Cæsar, and said loudly, that what he had not been able to do when Prætor, he would execute in his Consulship, and that he would take away the government of the Gauls from Cæsar.

A new confederacy between Cæsar, Pompey and Crassus.

Plut. Cæs. & Pomp. & Crass. & Cat. Dio.

Thus Cæsar fearing, that the opportunity of acquiring glory should be taken from him; and Pompey passionately desiring to renew and augment his, which began to languish, their mutual wants re-united them more strictly than ever, and fastened afresh the band of their friendship, or rather of their conspiracy. The concurrence of Crassus, whose power was very great in Rome, was necessary to them, and he himself, although the oldest of the three, was not less sensible of ambition. The trophies of Cæsar gave him jealousy, and he was desirous to equal his rivals in the glory of arms.

They were therefore to concert a plan among them that might be agreeable to all. They divided the Empire almost as if it had been their patrimony. It was agreed that Pompey and Crassus together should demand a second Consulship, to exclude Domitius; and that, when they should be Consuls, they would prolong Cæsar's command in the Gauls for five years, besides the five that had been already given him by the law of Vatinius; and that they would themselves take the departments and provinces that should be the most convenient for them for the same number of years. This negotiation was so important, that it could not be trusted to Mediators. They were willing to see one another; and as it was not permitted to Cæsar to go out of the bounds of his province, Crassus came to meet him at Ravenna, and Pompey saw him at Lucus, in his

Their interview.

his way to Africa, whether he went to get ^{A. R. 696.}
corn together, to relieve the wants of the City ^{Ant. C. 56.}
of Rome.

During the stay that Cæsar made at Lucus, <sup>The nume-
rous Court
of Cæsar
at Lucus.
Appian.
Civil. L.
II.</sup>
he had so numerous a Court, that it might be
said that the Romans went beforehand to ac-
knowledge their future master. The number
of magistrates, or illustrious persons invested
with some command, that came to attend him,
was so great, that there were reckoned an hun-
dred and twenty Licitors at his gate. Besides
Pompey, there were seen there Q. Metellus
Nepos, Proconsul of Spain, Ap. Claudius, Pro-
prætor of Sardinia, and two hundred Sena-
tors.

In the interview between Cæsar and Crassus, <sup>Cæsar
complains
of Cicero
to Pompey.
Reproaches
made by
Pompey to
Cicero.
Cic. ad
Fam. I. 9:</sup>
and afterwards between him and Pompey, there
was much talk of Cicero. Crassus, who had
never loved him, incensed Cæsar against him;
and when Cæsar saw Pompey at Lucus, he
made strong complaints of Cicero's rude at-
tempts against the acts of his Consulship. Pom-
pey had never opened his mouth to complain
of this, while the thing passed, without doubt,
because he was not then in perfect amity with
Cæsar. But when his treaty was concluded, he
interested himself in this quarrel; and meet-
ing, in Sardinia, where he put in before he
went to Africa, Q. Cicero, whom he had made
one of his Lieutenants, he spoke to him in
these terms: *If you do not persuade your brother
to change his stile, I must complain to you of the
non-performance of those promises for which you
passed your word.* He called to mind the re-
membrance of what passed between them in
the negotiation for recalling Cicero, one of the
conditions of which was, that he should never
attack

A. R. 696.
Ant. C. 56.

attack the acts of Cæsar's Consulship. He even pretended that Cæsar well deserved this acknowledgment from Cicero, to whose return he had not only consented, but even lent his assistance. *If your brother,* added he in the conclusion, *will not or cannot support the interests of Cæsar, at least let him not shew himself his enemy.* Pompey had this so much at heart, that, not content with this strong representation, he dispatched an express to Cicero, earnestly to pray him not to undertake any thing new against the territory of Capua, till his return from Africa.

Cicero resolves to support the interests of Cæsar.

These complaints made a terrible impression upon Cicero. He saw himself little agreeable to the Aristocratical party, who, according to him, were stung with jealousy, and who had been willing to recall him, but were not pleased that he should be re-established in such splendor as to give them umbrage. Their alliance with Clodius, his mortal enemy, entirely detached him from them. If therefore he could not preserve the friendship of Pompey, he would have been exposed to new dangers with less succour than he had before. To please Pompey, it was quite necessary to be the friend of Cæsar. This he resolved upon; and from that moment, to the great discontent of the zealous Republicans, he praised Cæsar, and took his part on all occasions.

He makes an apology for this change.

He took care to justify himself upon this change, in a long and fine letter to Lentulus Spinther, who had shewed his surprize at it. He maintained, that circumstances were altered; that the concert of the good men, so necessary to resist the bad, no longer subsisted; that the Aristocratical principles, by which they governed

governed themselves under his Consulship, and under that of Spinther, were now hardly followed by any body. He added, that the principal authority in the State was not invaded by villains, in which case they ought to have fought to the last extremity; but was in the hands of persons greatly to be admired, Pompey and Cæsar. And besides this, he concludes, that it is proper to conform to the times. "For, said he (a), able politicians have never laid it down as a rule to attach themselves invariably to the same way of thinking. In navigation, the art teaches men to yield to the storm, when by this new manner of working the ship, they cannot reach their port; but if it may be done by the help of this change, it would be folly to keep on with danger in the road one had taken, without going into another that might sooner conduct one to the end proposed. It is the same with respect to the administration of public affairs; and to reach the point we propose to ourselves, which is tranquillity accompanied by honour and dignity, we ought not always to speak the same language, although we ought always to keep the same point in view."

(a) Nunquam enim præstantibus in Republicâ gubernandâ viris laudata est in una sententiâ perpetua persistens. Sed ut in navigando tempestati obsequi artis est, etiam si portum tenere non queas: quum verò id possis mutata velificatione, stultum est eum tenere cum pericu-

lo. cursum quem ceperis, potius quàm eo commutato, quo velis tandem pervenire: sic quum omnibus in administrandâ Republicâ propositum esse debeat cum dignitate otium, non idem semper dicere, sed idem semper spectare debemus. Cic. ad Fam. I. 9.

Thus

A. R. 696.
Ant. C. 56.

Thus Cicero spoke to Lentulus, whom he knew to be an enemy to the Triumviral power, and whom he would have been glad to have satisfied with specious reasonings. But when he opened his heart to Atticus, no longer going about to put a gloss upon his conduct, but in representing that humiliation he was in, it was with such bitterness of grief, as could not but move compassion. “How happy are you (a), said he to this faithful friend, in the honest but moderate condition in which you live! You have no personal servitude, and of that which is common, you only have your share with all others. As for myself, if I vote in the public affairs as I ought, I am a madman that should destroy myself; if I speak as is convenient for my interest, I am a slave, that villifies myself; if I keep silent, I own my condition of oppression and captivity. What therefore must be my grief? It must be what I really feel; and the sense of it is so much the more lively in me, as I cannot even give way to it, without seeming ungrateful to Pompey, to whom I owe every thing—What resolution can I take? To draw myself out of my situation the best

(a) Tu quidem nullam habes propriam servitutem: communi fruere nomine. Ego vero, qui, si loquor quod oportet, insanus; si quod opus est, servus existimor: si taceo, oppressus & captus; quo dolore esse debet? Quo sum scilicet: hoc

etiam acriore, quod ne dolore quidem possum, ut non ingratus videar. — Reliquus est, *Expositus sum, rubeus corpus.* Non mehercule possum; & Philoxeno ignosco, qui reduci in carcerem maluit. *Cic. ad Att. IV. 6.*

* The text is corrupted here, as Manuchus has observed. The sense can be no other than as I have expressed it in my version.

“ way

CORNELIUS, MARCIUS, Consuls.

303

A. R. 596.
Ant. C. 56.

"way I can, and praise those to whom I am
"attached by necessity? I cannot do it; and
"I commend the poet * Philoxenus, who
"chose rather to be sent back again to prison
"than praise the verses of the Tyrant, who
"had first put him there." The passage was
as follows:

(a) Philoxenus shone in the Court of Diony-
sius the Elder, by the glory of his poetry.
The Tyrant, who valued himself, though very
unjustly, on the same talent, having shewn him
some bad verses of his composition, Philoxe-
nus was not afraid to disapprove them, and,
as a punishment for his freedom, was imme-
diately sent away to the quarries, which was
the name of the prison of the Syracusians; for
nothing can equal the pride of a bad Prince,
who is at the same time a bad poet. Never-
theless, at the request of all the Courtiers, who
interested themselves very warmly in the mis-
fortune of Philoxenus, Dionysius set him at
liberty the next day, restored him to his fa-

*This example of the poet
Philoxenus, is to be found in
the fifth volume of the An-
cient History; but for the
sake of those who do not call
it to mind, I was willing
not to omit it, and so much
the less, as the lovers of
Latin eloquence cannot but
be pleased that I give them
here the same passage, related
with exquisite grace by one of
the most illustrious of my bre-
thren, in a discourse pro-
nounced and made public many
years ago.*

(a) Quum Philoxenus in

vous,
aula Dionysii floretet gloria
poeseos, tyranni jussu, cujus
insceta aliquot carmina mi-
nus probaverat, in Latomias
conjectus est. Quippe su-
perbum quiddam ac tumi-
dum est rex malus & malus
poeta. Bostridie tamen mul-
tis multorum precibus educ-
tus & carcere & in gratiam
receptus, ad cenam etiam
vocatur. Splendebat appa-
tu lato convivium, & libe-
ralioribus poculis invitata hi-
laritas impine sese efferebat.
Ecce repentinum periculum
& proposit mors. Incala rat
vino

A. R. 696.
Ant. C. 56.

your, and even admitted him to his table. The repast was sumptuous, and joy, animated by good cheer, shewed itself in all the guests: when on a sudden an unfortunate danger seized them with a chilling dread, and present death was offered to their sight. Dionysius, warmed with wine, returned to the object of his dearest delight; and with a tone of complaisance and an air of affection, began to recite a long train of his verses, chusing, to regale the company, the most exquisite morsels, in which his barren fecundity, had lavished, without taste and without genius, all that he took to be graces. At each verse he pronounced, all the guests were exhausting themselves in encomiums, and disputed with one another the shame of applauding him in the most extravagant manner. Attention was painted on all their faces, in their attitudes, in their whole persons; their eyes were fixed; their looks, their gestures, their murmurs, their least motions, all declared their raptures. All was ad-

vino Dionysius. Ergo ad delicias suas revolutus, ebullire cepit versiculos aliquot rancidos, in quos ingenii malè feceracis omnes illepidas veneres ex industria contulerat. Hoc ipse delicatissimâ voce & affectu tenerrimo dum propinat convivarum auribus, operæ pretium erat videre inter ceteros certamen miseræ approbationis, arectos vultus, languidas cervices, defixos quasi stupore oculos, nutus, gestus, susurros, arrisus, adulatione mollissimâ delibutos. Aderat vixdum deteriso squalore carceris Philoxenus, &

inter calentes gratulatione ceteros unus omnium prope frigidus obtorpuerat. A quo laudationis aliquid elicere Dionysius quum misere ciperet, interrogavit quidnam sentiret. Ille Dionysio nihil: sed ad custodes, qui circumsteterant, conversus, vos vero, inquit, reducite me in Latomias. Movit vel ipsi tyranno risum improvisa festivitas; & invisæ alioquin libertatis ueronem ipsa joci elegantia retudit. *Oratio de legitimâ Laudatione, à M. Carolo le Beau.*

miration,

miration, all was flattery. Philoxenus, but A. R. 696-
Ant. C. 56. just freed from the weight of his fetters, saw all these transports without bearing any part in them; but an immoveable spectator of the scene, in the middle of so many adulators, he only preserved a profound silence. Dionysius, who earnestly desired his suffrage, because he knew the value of it, pressed him to explain himself. Philoxenus, without answering him one word addressed himself to the guards that were about the table, *Let them carry me back,* said he, *to the quarries.* The finesse of this pleasantry made the Tyrant himself smile, who did not expect it; and the wit of it took off the edge of that freedom, which of itself was but too likely to have given offence.

We therefore see Cicero in the condition of those, who having superior knowledge, have not courage enough to make use of it. He could not blind himself with respect to what was his duty, nor get the better of himself enough to follow it. He was in perpetual contradiction to himself, condemning all the steps he took, and yet drawn on by a timidity that he could not overcome. Thus almost at the same time that he complained to Atticus, with the deepest grief, of the slavery under which he groaned, he voted in the Senate in favour of him who was the principal cause of it, that is to say, of Cæsar.

For the Consul Marcellinus, a very generous Cicero man, and full of the Republican spirit, second-gives his ed by his Collegue, or at least not finding an vote in the obstacle in him, notwithstanding the ties that Senate for united Marcius to Cæsar, Marcellinus, I say, Cæsar's had proposed to the Senate to deliberate on having the the departments that should be agreed on to government of the two Gauls.

A. R. 696.
Ant. C. 56.

appoint for the Consuls; and the choice was to turn upon the four provinces, that is to say, the two Gauls, Cisalpine and Transalpine, held together by Cæsar, but which till then had always been two separate governments; Macedonia possessed by Piso, and Syria by Gabinius. He gave his advice for taking away the two Gauls from Cæsar; and would at most have but left him one of them. Cicero, in a discourse which we have under the title *de Provinciis Consularibus*, refutes these sentiments. He would have Cæsar maintained in the administration of both the Gauls, that is to say, that those forces should be left in his hands, which he wanted to subdue both the Senate and the Commonwealth.

He supported his advice by prodigious encomiums on Cæsar's exploits, which in truth could not be sufficiently praised. I shall relate here only one passage extremely fine. "Nature (a), says he, has given the Alps for the rampart of Italy; and it is a special benefit of Providence to our City. If that fierce and innumerable nation of the Gauls had had a free entrance into the countries we inhabit, Rome could never have become the seat of Universal Empire. But now we might consent, without fear, that the Alps might lower their summits, and put themselves on the level with our plains.

(a) Alpibus Italiam munerat ante natura, non sine aliquo divino numine. Nam si ille aditus Gallorum immanitati multitudinique patuisset, nunquam hæc urbs summo imperio domicilium

ac sedem præbuisset. Quæ jam licet confidant. Nihil est enim ultra illam altitudinem montium usque ad oceanum, quod sit Italiæ peritescendum. *Cic. de Prov. Cons. n. 34.*

For

“ For beyond the mountains to the Ocean, A. R. 696.
 “ there is nothing that can give any distur- Ant. C. 56.
 “ bance to Italy.

The advice of Cicero was followed, to his great regret. Nobody would have been better pleased, if it had been possible for the Senate to have taken a contrary resolution.

It would at least have been some consolation to him, if they had recalled Piso and Gabinius, his declared enemies, with whom he kept no measures. His desires herein were just; it was not only to satisfy his revenge, but the good of the Commonwealth required, that men so perfectly vicious should be deprived of the power they had procured only by their guilt, and which they made use of only to commit fresh crimes. Piso recalled from Macedonia, Gabinius continues in Syria.

Piso in particular could atone for his vices by no one virtue. Cruel to his friends, and cowardly against his enemies, he had succeeded so ill in some little wars he had improperly attempted against the barbarous nations, neighbours to Macedonia, that he dared not even write to Rome to demand the most common honours.

Gabinus, given up to his vices, had at least courage. We shall have occasion to give an account of his successes elsewhere. But he was so decried, and so hated, that having wrote to the Senate to demand the honour of the supplications or thanksgivings to the gods, it was refused him; of this there is but one single example * of the like in all the Roman History. It was a great pleasure to Cicero, that Cic. ad Q. Fr. II. 8.

* This one example is that of Albucius, of which mention is made, Vol. IX. B. XXIX.

A. R. 696. this affront was put upon his enemy in his ab-
 Ant. C. 56. sence; for he was not in Rome when the Se-
 nate treated Gabinius so ignominiously.

In Pis.
 n. 88.

It is very probable that the Senate would also have displaced him, if they had had it in their power; but Pompey openly protected his creature. Thus the desires of Cicero were but half accomplished. Piso only was obliged to quit his government, and return to Rome the year following. Gabinius kept his command still another year.

*Cicero em-
 ploys him-
 self much in
 pleading.*

In all the rest of the movements in the year we are upon, which were very sharp, Cicero appeared no more. He had too much modesty to support the violent enterprizes of Pompey, of which we are going to give an account, and too much weakness to oppose them. The bar employed him chiefly, and gave him one part of that reputation which he lost in other places. I have already spoken of his pleadings for Sextius, whose services had contributed to his being recalled from his exile, and for Cælius, a young man of great hopes, if he had had sufficient talents, and that good conduct which was yet more necessary. Cicero this year still defended L. Cornelius Balbus, with whom they contested the quality of Roman citizens, which he held from Pompey, being born at Cadiz in Spain. He pleaded this cause with Crassus, and even with Pompey himself; and the last is praised in an oration of Cicero's in the most magnificent manner in the world. But if I should dwell upon this, I fear I should wander too far from my subject.

Pompey

Pompey and Crassus had agreed with Cæsar, according to what I have related, to demand the Consulship. They for a long time, made a Mystery of their Project, not doubting but they should meet with great opposition. It was therefore at first unknown to the Public. Only it was thought, that it could be for no good design, that they were thus seen concerted together. With the views of better concealing their play, they even let the time pass prescribed by the law to put themselves in the number of the Candidates. Their scheme was to let the year be run out without an election, that Marcellinus might have time to go out of his office. This Consul had shewn himself so zealous and intrepid a defender of the public liberty, and so warm an enemy to the triumphal league, that they could not hope to get themselves named for Consuls in the Assemblies where he presided. His Colleague Marcius would have followed the same steps, if he had not been too easy and little capable of himself to form a strong Resolution: But he had Cato for his Son-in-law; and Cato respected by Marcellinus for his virtue, beloved by Marcius in consequence of so strict an alliance, governed in some sort all the Consulship.

There was no way to hinder the Elections but the opposition of some Tribune. For this C. Cato was very ready to offer his ministry to Pompey and Crassus. This young rash man had at first taken the side against Pompey, as we have seen in the affair of re-establishing Ptolomy Auletes. He afterwards proposed a law to recall Lentulus Spinther, and take from him the government of Cilicia. He would also have got some others to have passed, the

A.R. 696.
Ant. C. 56.

The dispo-

sitions

made by

Pompey

and Cras-

sur to get

the Consul-

ship.

Plut. Crass.

& Cat.

Dio, L.

xxxix.

Three of
the Tri-
bunes in
concert

with Pom-

pey hinder

the election

of the Ma-

gistrates.

A. R. 696.
Ant. C. 56.

purport of which are not precisely known to us; but which very much displeased the defenders of the Aristocracy. Marcellinus stopped him quite short, by not leaving one day free to convoke the Assemblies of the People. The means he employed was very likely to convert all the days into holidays on which these Assemblies could be lawfully held. This contest between Marcellinus and C. Cato, disposed the latter to enter into the designs of the Triumvirs; and supported, as it seems, by two of his Collegues Procilius and Suffenus, he turned the tables upon the Consul, by opposing every Assembly wherein the election of Magistrates was to be proposed.

The ineffectual endeavours of the Consul Marcellinus, and of the Senate, to overcome the obstinacy of the Tribunes.

Every thing remained suspended, and undoubtedly men begin to see to what these delays tended. The Senate, on the proposition of the Consul Marcellinus, put on mourning as in a time of public calamity, and all the members of that august body, the Consul at their head, came and presented themselves before the Assembly of the People, with every mark of profound sorrow, to endeavour to move the multitude, and to overcome the obstinacy of the Tribunes. All this solemnity had no effect. The Tribunes, without dreading the indignation that such a spectacle might excite against them, continued inflexible; and Marcellinus having vehemently inveighed against the enormous power of Pompey, who would bring the Commonwealth into slavery, the People answered his discourse by fruitless acclamations. “Shew, by your cries (a), said

(a) Acclamate. Quirites, acclamate, dum licit. Jam enim vobis impunè facere non licebit. *Val. Max. vi. 2.*

the

“ the Consul to them, shew your sentiments, A. R. 696.
 “ whilst yet you may ; e’re long you will not Ant. C. 56.
 “ have even this liberty.”

It was worthy of Clodius to insult the afflic- Clodius in-
 tion of the Senate. This madman, after the sults the
 Senators, with grief and confusion, were re- Senate.
 turned to the palace, mounted the Tribunal of
 harangues, with the ornaments of his office,
 for he was Ædile, and being willing to regain
 the affection of Pompey, whom he had not
 ceased to harrafs and outrage for two years to-
 gether, he declaimed against Marcellinus, and
 against the other zealous Republicans, whose
 interests he had for the same time affected to
 support. Not content with abusing the absent
 Senate, he was desirous of giving them proofs
 of his rage, by presenting himself at the gates
 of the palace ; where he was repulsed, and in
 an instant a body of horsemen having furround-
 ed him, he was going to be cut in pieces, if the
 People had not rose in his favour, and threat-
 ened to set fire to the palace where the Senate
 was assembled.

In the midst of all these terrible disorders The Consul
 Pompey appeared quite tranquil, as if the affair would
 did not relate to him, and did not discover oblige
 himself. Marcellinus undertook either to un- Pompey
 mask him, or perhaps even to make him a and Craf-
 bandon, through shame, a project which put all sus to ex-
 the city in combustion. He therefore interro- plain
 gated him in full Senate upon his intentions, themselves.
 and demanded to know if he had thoughts to Their an-
 put himself among the candidates for the Con- swers.
 sulship ? Pompey must not have attended to
 the question, for his answers was very bad. He
 said perhaps he might demand the Consulship,
 perhaps he might not. The Consul insisted

A. R. 966. upon it, and would have a more precise answer;
 Ant. C. 56. "I should have no need of the Consulship,

"replied Pompey, if I considered only the
 "good Citizens; but the bad and the turbu-
 "lent put me under the necessity of desiring
 "it." This language seemed arrogant and
 displeased. Crassus, interrogated upon the same,
 answered more modestly, that he should de-
 mand the Consulship if the necessities of the
 Commonwealth seemed to exact it. Marcel-
 linus fell upon Pompey in his usual way, and
 drew upon himself an answer that was rude and
 insolent. *Thou makest a very bad acknowledg-
 ment, said Pompey, of all the services I have
 done thee. Thou oughtest to remember, that
 through my means from a mute thou art become
 eloquent; and from a starveling, * are wont to
 get drunk every day. I do not relate this pas-
 sage, as it very much deserves to be preserved
 of itself, but to shew how little decency the
 great men of Rome observed when they con-
 tended with one another. The invectives
 which astonish, and often shock us in the dis-
 courses of Cicero against his enemies, was the
 ordinary stile of their quarrels.*

*An univer-
 sal conste-
 nation in
 Rome.*

From this day the Consul and the Senate
 discouraged, did not any more attempt a vain
 resistance. Those who had aspired at the Con-
 sulship, desisted: And Pompey remained mas-
 ter of the field of battle; but with all the
 signs of an universal consternation. In the
 Assemblies of the Senate, in the public cere-
 monies of religion, where the Magistrates were

* The original term is yet stronger; and means the vom-
 iting, which is the conse-
 quence of intemperance and
 drunkenness.

to assist, there reigned in all a sorrowful solitude. They fought no more because they were overpowered; but it was plainly to be seen how much the oppression and the oppressors were detested. Thus passed the remainder of the year.

As R. 496.
Ant. C. 96.

THE INTERREGNUM.

POMPEY and Crassus having brought affairs to the point they wished, did not blush at their unworthy victory; but thought, on the contrary, how to make the most of it. On the last day of the preceding December all the Magistrates, except the Tribunes of the People, went out of their employments. It was the custom when the Commonwealth found itself thus without a Chief, for the Patricians to assemble together, and choose among themselves a Magistrate, whose authority was to last for five days, and whom they called an *Interrex*. At the end of these five days, they gave him a Successor, and then another, till the election of the Consuls. As soon as the Consuls were named they were in possession of the Government, and presided at the elections of the other Magistrates, Prætors, Ædiles, Quæstors. Pompey and Crassus then made their declaration to the *Interrex*, that they should demand the Consulship.

A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 55.
The inter-
regnum.

I have said that the other candidates desisted; but L. Domitius must be excepted, who without fearing these redoubtable rivals, or even the new re-inforcement of Cæsar's soldiers, who had been sent for to support them, dared enter the lists against them, and maintained the fight.

Domitius
alone per-
sists to de-
mand the
Consulship
with Pom-
pey and
Crassus.

A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 55.

fight to the last. He piqued himself upon his constancy, and moreover was greatly encouraged by Cato, whose sister Porcia, both by father and mother, he had married. Cato made it a point to push on his enterprize, by representing to him, that he acted here not only in pursuit of the Consulship, but of the liberty of the Romans. This generous resolution drew to Domitius the favour of all good Citizens, and even of those whose views, without being much elevated or very extensive, were nevertheless just and honest. They asked one another with surprize: "What need Pompey and Crassus had for a second Consulship? Why must they be once again Consuls together? Is there then no other Citizen worthy to be the Collegue of Pompey or Crassus?" Besides those who declared themselves thus in discourse, it was hoped, that there were many others who kept silence, that would favour Domitius when the time of election came. The suffrages were given by ballot, and this secret way was the most proper to embolden those who did not dare to shew openly what they thought.

He is removed out of the way by violence, or the fear of death. Pompey and Crassus are named Consuls.

Pompey and Crassus were really afraid, and to deliver themselves from all uncertainty of success, they had recourse to violence. When Domitius, accompanied by Cato, went before day to the Campus Martius to sollicit votes, he fell into an ambuscade, prepared by his rivals. The slave who carried the flambeau before him was killed, and Cato wounded in the arm. Nevertheless this intrepid man, who never feared any danger, was determined not to yield, and exhorted Domitius to fight it out with his last breath for liberty against the tyrant. Domitius more timid, or more prudent, judged

judged it not proper to go any farther, but retired into his house. It was by this train of violences and intrigues, that Pompey and Crassus obtained the second Consulship, the consequences which could not but be fatal, as the means by which they acquired it were odious.

A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 55.

CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS II.

M. LICINIUS CRASSUS II.

The first care that necessarily employed the new Consuls, was that of creating the other Magistrates. According to order they were to begin with the election of Prætors. This was an affair of no little difficulty to them; but they succeeded in it according to custom by trampling under foot law, justice and shame,

They prevented Cato's obtaining the Prætorship, and cause Vatinius to be preferred to him.

Cato, whom nothing awed when the defence of the common cause was in question, not having been able to succeed in making Domitius Consul, demanded himself the Prætorship, that this employment might serve him as a place of arms against the Consuls, and that he might not be obliged as a private man only to resist the sovereign Magistrates. The Consuls did not doubt but that the Prætorship, in the hands of Cato, would become a rival to the Consulate, and therefore they resolved to drive him from it at what price so ever it might be. Canvassing the most outrageous and the most shameful, distributions of money made openly to purchase votes, were all ways that seemed good to them. And to assure those of impunity who got to be named by these unworthy artifices, they caused the Senate to order that the Prætors appointed should immediately enter upon their office, without having

A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 35.

having any regard to the advice of a great number of Senators, who would have had an interval of sixty days between the time of their being named, and their taking possession, that in that space those who should be found culpable of canvassing might be accused. Furnished with this decree, they placed in the rank of candidates those who were their friends and their creatures, and in favour of whom they openly solicited.

The virtue alone of Cato, destitute of all other support than that which he found within himself, yet triumphed over all the intrigues of the powerful; and the citizens were ashamed to sell their suffrages to the exclusion of him, when they should have bought such a Prætor with his weight in gold. Thus the first century who gave their voices named Cato for Prætor. Pompey had then recourse to the basest and most unworthy of all resources; a mean and shameful lie, for he said he had heard a clap of thunder, which necessarily broke up the Assembly. He and his Colleague afterwards redoubled their solicitations and their largesses, they filled the Campus Martius with armed men, and succeeded at last in getting preferred to Cato one Vatinius, who was the shame and outcast of Rome, sovereignly despised even by those to whom he was useful, and who put him in the place.

Cic. in
Vatin. 38,
39.

It is reported, that the citizens who had thus prostituted their voices, fled away for shame, and went to hide themselves. Others assembled about Cato, who, always the same, ascended the Tribunal of harangues, and as if he had been inspired from above, says Plutarch, he foretold all the ills that were to follow,

low, making those who heard him sensible, how necessary it was to resist the Consuls who feared to have Cato for Prætor. He was afterwards conducted back again to his house, with a train more numerous than all the rest who had been named to the Prætorship put together.

The Assemblies for the election of *Ædiles* Pompey presides at the election of Ædiles. His robe made bloody there. afforded a scene yet more terrible. Some men were slain so near Pompey that their blood was spilt upon his robe; and as it was impossible for him to quit the Assembly, of which he was president, he caused another robe to be brought from his house, and sent home that that was bloody. This robe was shewn to Julia his wife, who loved him tenderly, for Pompey was a good husband, and his conduct, very different, in this respect, from that of Cæsar, had nothing in it of those irregularities which were then so common in Rome. This young lady was extremely frightened to see the robe of her husband all stained with blood, and as she was big with child, the consequence of her fright was very dangerous. She miscarried, and did not recover but with much difficulty.

When all the Magistrates were chosen. The Consuls went about to gather the fruits of the violences, and injustices they had committed. They affected on this occasion a false moderation and an hypocritical silence demanding nothing for themselves either from the People or the Senate. Their dispositions were nevertheless made. They destinated for themselves the Provinces of Syria, from whence it was time to recall Gabinus, and of Spain where Metellus Nepos made war with so little glory and so little success. The Tribune Trebonius, The Tribune Trebonius proposes a law to give to the Consuls the governments of Spain and Syria.

A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 55.

nius, whom they had gained over to them, therefore proposed a law which assigned to the Consuls those Governments for five years, with as many troops as they should judge proper, and with the power of making war and peace according to their own wills.

*The law
passes in
spite of
Cato's op-
position
and that
of the two
Tribunes.*

It may well be supposed that Cato did not fail to oppose this law. He was even supported by two Tribunes, Ateius Capito and Aquilius Gallus. I shall not enter into a detail of the quarrel, which was very sharp, but which too much resembled those I have already described. I shall content myself with saying, that Cato, after all the efforts of a constancy equally obstinate and fruitless, was seized by the serjeants of Trebonius, who not being able any other way to get rid of him, ordered him to be carried to prison, but as on the way thither he continued talking against the law and was listened to by a great number of persons who followed him, Trebonius feared the consequence of his undertaking and caused him to be released. The business of the law could not be determined that day, and was put off to the next.

The Tribune Gallus, who thought that if he waited till the morning, he should find all the avenues to the place guarded, so that it would not be possible for him to get in, resolved to shut himself up, and pass the night in the place where the Senate was assembled. He hoped, by this precaution, to get possession, before his adversaries, of the *Rostra* which were just by. Trebonius had notice of his design, and placed guards at all the gates of the Senate-House: Thus Gallus was kept as it were imprisoned for a long time; and when he escaped at last, by forcing his passage, he received many wounds,
which

which was all he got by his obstinate resistance. A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 55.
If a Tribune, whose person was sacred, was so cruelly treated, it is easy to believe that the other opponents were not more spared. Some were wounded, others killed; and Crassus himself, to silence a Senator, named L. Annalis, who resisted the law, gave him such a blow in the face with his fist, as made him all bloody. And thus the law passed.

It remained then to satisfy the engagements Pompey gets Cæsar continued in the government of Gaul for five years. made with Cæsar. Pompey took upon himself to propose a law to continue him in the governments of the Gauls and Illyria for the space of five years; that is to say, to give a mortal wound to his own power, to his glory, and even to his safety and his life. For this continuance gave Cæsar time to gain such deep root, that it was not possible to shake him, and he was of necessity either to submit to his laws, or make war with him. The blindness of Pompey was so much the more surprizing as all endeavours had been used to open his eyes.

Cato did not take the same method to resist Notwithstanding the representations of Cato and Cicero. this law as he had employed against the preceding one. Instead of addressing himself to the People, he turned towards Pompey. "You do not think of it, said he, but you are giving yourself a master. When you have received the yoke, and begin to feel the weight of it, being neither able to shake it off, or bear it, you will fall with your burden on the Commonwealth; and you will then remember, though too late, the advice of Cato, wherein you might find your own personal interest, as well as that of justice, of the laws and of virtue." Cicero talked in the

A. R. 697.
 Ana. C. 55.

the same language to Pompey in private: But neither the lively remonstrances of the one, nor the soft insinuations of the other, could dissolve the charm with which he was bewitched. He thought his power superior to all events, and persuaded himself that Cæsar would always stand in need of him.

I know not whether the Consuls were willing to repair the injury done their reputation, by so many irregular and violent enterprizes; but they applied themselves to reform several abuses of the new laws. Very unhappily the persons of the Reformers agreed but little with their designs.

A new disposition introduced by a law of Pompey in the choice of Judges.

Corruptions were very great in matters of judgment. Pompey, to remedy this, introduced some alterations in the choice of Judges, and ordered that they should be taken from the richest citizens. Very likely, as Freinshemius observes, it was supposed, that poverty had been the occasion of some Judges suffering themselves to be gained by presents: but, adds the same writer, could the love and respect of justice be more expected from those who were become rich by all sorts of crimes?

What would become of the Legislators themselves, if they were to be judged by the laws? A young man of an illustrious name, about this time, made Pompey sensible of this, with great freedom. Valerius Maximus, who relates the fact, does not give us the precise date of it. This young man, who was named Cn. Piso, accused one Manilius Crispus, notoriously and evidently criminal, but protected by Pompey. Piso, seeing that the criminal was like to escape, fell upon his Protector, and sharply reproached him. *Why do you not accuse me*

Suppl. to
 Livy, CV.
 23.
 Val. Max.
 VI. 2.

me myself then? said Pompey to him. Piso replied, *Give good security to the Commonwealth, that (a) you will not excite a civil war if I accuse you, and I will prosecute your condemnation, even before that of Manilius.* A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 55.

Nobody had practised canvassing in a manner more open, more impudently, and more criminally, in all its circumstances, than Pompey and Crassus. They had, nevertheless, the effrontery to renew the laws against that abuse; and to add to them new penalties, more rigorous than those which were thought sufficient till then. *A law against canvassing at elections.*

They also prepared to retrench, by severe rules, the luxury of the table; and this perhaps was that kind of reformation which was the least indecent for them to undertake, for neither of them was pompous or voluptuous in their domestic expences. Diverse laws had been for a long time begun against the progress of this evil: and besides that which is spoken of at the end of the eighth volume of this work, Sylla, during his Dictatorship, and Lepidus, who was Consul in the year of Sylla's death, had caused new ones to pass. But the taste of pleasure, increasing with opulence, had forced these weak fences. The first citizens of the Commonwealth, and even those who piqued themselves on the most pure and ardent zeal for liberty, gave into an intolerable luxury, and trod all sumptuary laws under foot. *A scheme for a new sumptuary law. The luxury of the Romans.*

More than that. In the feasts on account of public ceremonies, where they were ob-

(a) *Da prædes Reipublicæ, te, si postulatus fueris, civile bellum non excitaturum: etiam de tuo prius*

quam de Manilii capite in consilium judices mittam.
Val. Max.

A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 55.

liged to keep to the letter of the law, delicacy and gluttony found a way to make amends by art for any thing that was denied them. This Cicero shews us in a letter, wherein he ingeniously and agreeably relates what happened to him, at a feast given by Lentulus Spinther, on the promotion of his son to the dignity of Augur. "The sumptuary laws (a), says he, which ought to introduce frugality, have done me a very great injury. For as these laws, severe in other matters, have allowed a full liberty, with respect to pulse, and all the natives of the garden, our voluptuaries so delicately prepared their mushrooms, roots, and all sorts of herbs, that there was never any thing in the world so agreeable. I was taken in by them at the feast of Lentulus; and my intemperance has been punished by an indisposition that continued upon me for above six days. Thus I, who can with ease abstain from oysters and lampreys, have been deceived by beet-root and mallows. But I am well cautioned; and I shall take care of myself another time."

Perhaps what animated this zeal of the Consuls for frugality, was that taste for luxury and pleasures that their principal adversaries had, that is to say, the chiefs of the Aristocra-

(a) Lex sumptuaria, quæ videtur ἀλιότηα attulisse, ea mihi fraudi fuit. Nam dum volunt isti lauti terrâ nata, quæ lege excepta sunt, in honorem adducere, fungos, heluellas, herbas omnes ita econdiunt, ut nihil possit esse suavius. In eas quum incidissem in cenâ Augurali a-

puð Lentulum, tanta me δαίψια arripuit, ut hodie primum videar cæpisse consistere. Ita ego, qui me ostreis & murænis facillè abstinebam, à betâ & à malvâ deceptus sum. Post hac igitur erimus cautiones. Cic. ad Fam. VII. 26.

tical party. Hortensius did not conceal it; but took upon him boldly to defend that excess, which the others would have banished, by colouring it with the fine names of the magnificence and nobleness that were agreeable to the grandeur of the Commonwealth. He would fain have interested the Consuls in his cause, by praising them for the honourable manner in which they lived, and supported their rank. This discourse of Hortensius, applauded, without doubt, by many of the first Senators, destroyed the project of the Reformation, which it is very likely Pompey and Crassus had not much at heart.

With this pretended severity that they were pleased to affect, Pompey, this same year, made a great breach in the antient discipline, by the construction and dedication of a strong and permanent theatre. Till that time, there had never been any theatres built in Rome, to continue for any longer time than while the spectacles lasted that were to be represented in them. It has been related in another place, how the Censors, having had the same design which Pompey executed, had been stopped by a Senatusconsultum made upon the representations of Nasica. The edifice already begun, was not only interrupted but demolished.

Although the manners of the Romans were much altered in the time we are speaking of, yet it was not possible but that such a novelty should be blamed by many people. Pompey was sensible of it; and to make his theatre pass the more easily, he joined to it a temple to the honour of Venus the Victorious. He did not so much as name the theatre in the ordinance by which he invited the people to the

Al. R. 697.
Ant. C. 55.

*The theatre
of Pompey.*
Plut.
Pompey
Dio.

Vol. VIII.
B. XXVI.

Tertullian
de Spectac.

A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 55.

dedication of this magnificent work : He spoke only of the temple of Venus, *to which*, said he, *we have added stairs to serve the citizens for seats, in the representation of the spectacles.*

Plin.
xxxvi. 15.

This theatre was extremely large, since it could contain forty thousand souls. The expence of such an edifice must have been enormous; and it is very surprizing, that a private person could bear it without incommoding himself. The surprize will still increase, if it be true, as Dio reports, that it was not Pompey that defrayed it, but Demetrius his freed-man, of whom we have already had occasion to speak, and who was richer than himself.

Vol. IX.

A. Gell.
i.

The work was not entirely finished, and in a condition to receive an inscription on the frontispiece, till under the third Consulship of Pompey. It was then, that Pompey puzzled to know how it ought to be expressed that he was Consul for the third time, and doubting whether it should be put CONSUL TERTIUM, or TERTIO, consulted Cicero, who seeing men of ability divided in their opinions, eluded the difficulty, by advising Pompey to leave the word, that was to express the number, imperfect, and to write it only with the first four letters and a point, TERT. This was to push the scruple very far. But in Cicero's leaving the matter undecided, there was more management with persons than doubt about the thing. He was not willing to give offence to either party, who had given their opinion about this expression.

Games
given to
the people
by Pompey,
at the de-
dicating
his theatre.

Although the last hand was not put to the building of the theatre and temple till Pompey was Consul the third time, yet it is certain he made the dedication of it during his second
Con-

Consulship. He gave to the People, on this occasion, magnificent games of all sorts, plays, combats of the wrestlers and gladiators in the circus, hunting of lions and elephants: But the magnificence of them choaked all taste; and Cicero, who assisted at these games, gives a description of them, or rather a criticism, in a manner worth all the spectacle.

A. R. 667.
Ant. C. 55.

Cic. ad
Fam. vii 1.

“ The preparation for our games, was superb, says he, writing to a friend; but I very much doubt whether they would have given you any great pleasure. In the first place, we have seen actors appearing again upon the stage, to do honour to Pompey, who would have done well for their own honour to have retired. Esop, so famous in tragedy, played in such a manner, that there was not one of the spectators who would not very willingly have dismissed him: In going about to make a speech his voice entirely failed him. What shall I say of the rest? You have often seen the plays, but these were not so agreeable as what were commonly acted, for the prodigious pomp of them destroyed their elegance. To what purpose were six hundred mules brought upon the stage in the representation of the tragedy of Clytemnestra? or three thousand vases in that of the Trojan Horse? All this was enough to glut the curiosity, and draw the admiration of the vulgar, but could give no satisfaction to men of taste. As to the low farces that were given afterwards, you have no reason to regret them, since you may see a copy of them in the Assemblies of the Senate. The combats of the wrestlers were, by the confession of Pompey himself,

A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 55.
Dio.

“ money thrown away. The chaces, which
“ were given two and two, ten in five days,
“ were, it must be allowed, magnificent. Five
“ hundred lions and eighteen elephants had
“ wherewithal to astonish. But what pleasure
“ could it be to a man of wit to see a little
“ weak fellow torn in pieces by a large vigo-
“ rous beast, or a fine beast pierced with a
“ spear? On the last day the elephants ap-
“ peared, which caused great admiration in the
“ multitude but no pleasure. Even the popu-
“ lace were touched with pity, in the suppo-
“ sition that this animal has understanding,
“ and a kind of society with man.”

Pompey was but ill repayed for the prodigi-
ous pains and expences he had been at, if many
of the spectators thought like Cicero ; but he
was sufficiently rewarded by the esteem of
fots.

Sen. de
Brev. Vi-
tæ, c. 13.
Plin. viii.
7.

As to what relates to the elephants, I shall
add to the recital of Cicero, first that the men
* whom they caused to fight with them, were
either criminals condemned to death, or Afri-
cans accustomed to defend themselves against
these animals, and even to tame and conquer
them. This circumstance much diminishes the
idea of cruelty which would otherwise attend
this spectacle.

*The com-
miseration
of the peo-
ple for the
elephants
killed in
these games*

In the second place, what Cicero says in one
word of the compassion of the People for the
elephants, Pliny explains it to us more circum-
stantially. They became furious at first, when
they felt themselves wounded, and joining to-
gether endeavoured to get out of the area, and

* Without doubt they made the same choice of those who
were to fight with the lions.

break

break the bars of iron that inclosed them, which occasioned a great deal of dread, and a great tumult in the assembly. However the barriers resisting them, and the elephants not able to save themselves, sent forth lamentable cries, and seemed to assume an air of supplication to beseech their lives. This sight sensibly moved the People, who far from applauding the magnificence of the spectacle that Pompey gave them, detested him for his cruelty, and loaded him with imprecations.

There is nothing in this recital that to me seems improbable. It is not so with respect to what Dio adds, that the elephants lifted their trunks to heaven, demanding justice against those who had brought them to Rome, deceiving them by false oaths. For it is said, these are the words of the historian, that they had not embarked but upon the promise given them by their conductors upon oath, that they should come to no harm. It is not improbable that such a report might be spread, and even find credit among the People of Rome, but for a writer to put it in his history, as not void of probability, gives us no great idea of his judgment.

To the games of Pompey succeeded affairs more serious in themselves, and the consequences of which were extremely important. The Consuls having drawn lots for the two departments assigned them by the law of Trebonius, the lots happened according to their wishes in giving Syria to Crassus, and Spain to Pompey. This was well pleased not to be too far out of the way. His scheme was constantly to conduct the affairs of the city, and he followed it so well, that for six years that he was Proconsul

The province of Syria falls to Crassus, and that of Spain to Pompey, who governs by his Lieutenants. Dio. Plut. in Crass. & Pomp.

A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 55.

in Spain, he never set foot in his province; but governed it by his Lieutenants; a thing without example in the Commonwealth. Some have said that the love of his wife Julia kept him in the neighbourhood of Rome. But after the death of Julia he did not alter his conduct. The superintendence of provisions, with which he was charged, furnished him with a specious pretence not to quit the city, for the subsistence of which he was to provide.

*The extravagant
joy, and
chimerical
projects of
Crassus.*

As to Crassus, from the moment that the Province of Syria fell to him, he could not contain his joy. The ceremony of drawing lots was performed in public; there wanted not witnesses in the midst of the crowd, many of them unknown to him, and ready enough to criticise on his behaviour. He not only burst into exclamations on his good fortune, but in private, and with his friends, gave himself up to such transports, as neither agreed with his age, or even his character, which was far enough from that of a giddy man, and a braggadocio. Syria, the Parthians, were the constant preludes to the projects with which he was full. He treated as trifles the exploits of Lucullus against Tigranes, and of Pompey against Mithridates. The Bactriani, the Indies, and all the country as far as the Eastern Sea, were conquests that he promised himself. Nothing of this was contained in the law of Trebonius, which gave him his title: but he had opened the field to himself, and that was sufficient. And although it was a crime against the authority of the Commonwealth, to give so violent an extension to the law, the power of Crassus, if he had succeeded in his designs, not only screened him from all prosecution, but
assured

assured him of applauses and a triumph. *Cæ. A. R. 69. Ant. C. 55.*
 far, for what end soever it was, augmented the
 folly of Crassus, by entering into his designs,
 and exhorting him by letter to undertake the
 war against the Parthians.

The levies of soldiers which were to be made *The mur-*
 to put this ambitious project in execution, *muring of*
 excited great murmurs among the people; and *the citizens*
 they began to talk loudly, that it was very *against the*
 wrong to reject the salutary remonstrances of *war which*
 Crassus. The two Tribunes, Gallus and Capito, *Crassus*
 encouraged by this disposition they saw the *was pre-*
 people in, attempted to put a stop to the raising *paring to*
 of troops, and even to hinder the Consuls from *make with*
 going out of Rome. Pompey was not at all *the Par-*
 concerned at these menaces, which were agree- *thians.*
 able to the resolution he had taken with him-
 self. Crassus, whose case was very different,
 employed force to resist the opposition of the
 Tribunes.

But he did not by that appease the wrath of
 the public. There was a general outcry in
 Rome against the unjust war that was intended
 to be made with a Nation with which they
 were in peace. He therefore feared he should
 find some obstacles from the multitude on the
 day of his departure; and desired Pompey,
 who was loved and respected by the citizens,
 to accompany him to the Capitol, and from
 thence to the gate of the city, that matters
 might pass with decency and quiet. In short,
 those who were prepared to hoot at Crassus,
 and even to hinder his going forwards, seeing
 Pompey marching before him with a serene
 and majestic air, were calmed, and left the
 passage free.

A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 55.

The dread-

ful cere-

mony made

use of by

one of the

Tribunes,

so load

him with

impreca-

tions.

The Tribune Ateius Capito, nevertheless, enraged against Crassus, when the Consul made the usual sacrifices in the Capitol, he would have interrupted them by pronouncing bad omens. Afterwards he endeavoured to send him to prison; but the other Tribunes took upon them the defence of the Consul. At length, as his last resource, he employed the most formidable part of religion against him. He ran to the gate of the city, where he waited for Crassus with an incense pot lighted, upon which he made libations and burnt perfumes, pronouncing horrible imprecations in the name of the gods, the most uncommon and terrifying. The idea that men had of these imprecations was, that those who were under them could never avoid the fatal effect of them, and that they also brought evil upon the person who pronounced them. Many condemned the action of Ateius upon this principle, that not being irritated against Crassus but by his zeal for the Commonwealth, he should deliver her over to the divine vengeance, by giving up a Consul and a General of the army. But independently of these superstitious imaginations, it is certain that such imprecations, which gave so great terror, might much discourage the soldiers, and consequently bring great disgraces upon them.

A pretend-

ed bad

omen.

Caueas.

These ill effects were the more to be feared, as no people carried their superstition so far as the Romans. The most simple things in the world seemed to them happy or unhappy prefaces: Of which this expedition of Crassus furnished us with several examples. Thus, when he embarked his troops at Brundisium, because there happened to be a man at the port who carried

Cic. de

Divin. II.

84

carried figs of Caunus to sell, in Latin *Caunas*, a word, which by the manner of pronouncing it, might be mistaken for *cave ne eas*, "take care of going out." They were persuaded that this cry was a warning that the gods sent to Crassus, to put him by his enterprize, and to declare to him the ill success of it.

I must not omit, that Crassus was desirous to part in friendship with Cicero. I have already more than once had occasion to say, that they never loved one another; but the strict union between Pompey and Crassus, did not allow Cicero to continue an enemy to the latter: there had been therefore a first reconciliation between them, about the time that the Triumviral league was formed; and Cicero persuaded himself, that he had sincerely forgot all that was passed. Nevertheless, there remained an old leaven in his heart, which shewed itself on account of a contest they had together in the Senate.

It was concerning Gabinius, who, as I shall relate by and by, had just then re-established Ptolemy Auletes with an armed force, without stopping either at the prohibition of the Senate, or at the oracle of the Sibyl. Cicero having so fair a field open to him against his enemy, triumphed in it, and endeavoured to irritate the Senate against him. Crassus, who at first seemed to think in the same way, afterwards changed his stile; and not contented only with defending the person accused, he let fly some sharp strokes against Cicero. Our Orator (a) took fire, and his indignation was

A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 554

Crassus,
before his
departure,
reconciles
himself to
Cicero.
Cic. ad
Fam. I. 9.

so

(a) Exarfi, non. solum præ-
senti, credo, iracundia (nam

ea tam vehemens fortasse
non fuisset) sed quum in-
clusum

A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 55.

so lively, that it was easy to see that it was not the present dispute only that occasioned his shewing it as he did. The fund of resentment that slept in his heart, without his perceiving it himself, was now awakened, and displayed itself in all its force.

When he had satisfied the motions of his choler, he began to reflect. He saw a malignant joy in the zealous Republicans, which could not conceal itself, and shewed him that they were charmed to find him embroiled with the Triumvirs for ever. On the other side Pompey besought him immediately, and Cæsar pressed him by letters, to reconcile himself again to Crassus. He did so, and Crassus desired to seal this reconciliation by a repast to which he invited him the evening before his departure, or at most very few days before it. Cicero was faithful to these last engagements: He defended Crassus in the Senate, against the attacks that the Consuls of the following year would have made upon him in his absence.

Cic. ad
Fam. V. 8.

Before I enter upon the recital of the unfortunate expedition of Crassus, I am to give an account of the exploits of Gabinius to whom he succeeded. I have also left two campaigns of Cæsar in arrear, of which I must recount the events, and join to them the two following, that I may return afterwards to Crassus.

Scaurus
Philippus,
Marcellinus
and
Gabinus,
successively
governors
of Syria.
App. Syr.
& Parth.

We have seen that Scaurus, left by Pompey in Syria, did nothing to gain much honour, and in the little wars with the Nabatean Arabs he had rather acquired the reputation of a co-

clusum illud odium multarum ejus in me injuriarum, quod ego effudisse me arbitrabar, residuum tamen infei-

ente me fuisset, omne repenté apparuit. Cic. ad Fam. I. 9.

vetous

vetous man than that of a great warrior. Marcus Philippus and Lentulus Marcellinus who had the Province of Syria successively after him and were afterwards Consuls together, had not any more distinguished themselves by any great exploits than the other. The courses of the same Arabs, which they could not totally suppress served for a pretext to Clodius to make Syria a Consular Province, and to recompence Gabinus, by this fine government, who during his Consulship had so well served the hatred of that furious Tribune against Cicero.

Judea was like a dependance on the government of Syria; and was agitated by great troubles when Gabinus arrived there. It must be remembered here, that after many debates, and a pretty long war between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, brothers, who disputed their royalty between themselves, Pompey had decided the quarrel in favour of Hyrcanus to whom he gave the office of Sovereign Sacrificator, and the authority of command, but without the diadem; instead of which he carried Aristobulus away prisoner with all his family, composed of two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, and two daughters. Alexander made his escape on the road, and returning into Judea, he kept himself concealed for some time. At length he re-animated his father's party, and easily got the better of the weak Hyrcanus, he thought also to fortify himself against the power of the Romans, by rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem which Pompey had thrown down.

Gabinus settled these new troubles with great activity. He entered into the country with his army, won some battles, took and raised some fortresses, and at length reduced

Alexander

A. R. 699.
Ant. C. 55.

Troubles
excited in
Judea by
Alexander
the son of
Aristobu-
lus.
Joseph.
Antiq.
XIV. 11.
& de Bel.
Jud. I. 6.

Gabinus
settles mat-
ters there
with great
activity.

A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 55.

Alexander to sue for favour, and he thought himself very happy to preserve his life and liberty. He also re-established several towns, that had been desolated by the wars, as well civil as foreign, and he recalled the inhabitants into them, who had dispersed themselves on all sides. The most considerable of these towns re-established by Gabinius was Samaria. He brought back Hyrcanus to Jerusalem, and put him again in possession of the sovereign priesthood; but he gave a new form to the government of the nation, which he made Aristocratical, having divided all the country into five Provinces, in each of which he erected a sovereign council.

He demands the honour of the Supplications, which is refused him.

It was after he had thus pacified Judea, that he demanded the honour of the *Supplications*, which was refused him, although it had been granted to others on less occasions. Besides, that his personal conduct disgraced in him the qualities of a General; besides the hatred of the Senate which he had deserved by his cruelty towards Cicero. Freinshemius conjectures with much probability, that the revenge of the farmers of the public revenues, whom he had treated very ill in his Province, had contributed a good deal to draw this affront upon him. These farmers, or publicans, were of the order of Knights, as we have often said, and had great credit in Rome. Gabinius had drawn their hatred upon him by endeavouring to vex them, not through any zeal to ease the People (he was not capable of acting from a motive so honest and so laudable) but without doubt in consequence of a resentment he had conceived against them, for having constantly opposed him

Suppl. B.
CV. 12.

him during his Consulship. It is believed he ^{A. R. 697.}
made use of this occasion to revenge himself. ^{Ant. C. 55.}

The war of Gabinius in Judea was the first ^{Marc An-}
in which Marc-Anthony signalized his bravery. ^{thony be-}
I take this opportunity to begin to make ^{gins to sig-}
known a person so famous, and who will act ^{nalize}
so great a part in the sequel of this his- ^{himself.}
tory. I have already said, that he was the ^{His birth.}
son of M. Antonius, surnamed, in derision, ^{Plut. Ant.}
the Cretan, because he had failed in his expedi-
tion against the Isle of Crete, and of one Julia.
So by the mother's side he was united in blood
to the house of Cæsar. The Antonys also
took to themselves a very high descent, and
pretended to be the issue of Hercules. The
example and precepts of his mother, who was
a lady respectable for her virtue, had no great
power over him. But he inherited from his fa-
ther extravagance, prodigality and the love of
expence. The affairs of Antonius Creticus had
been so ill conducted, that his son thought
himself obliged to renounce the succession to his
estate. This, if I am not mistaken, is the
meaning of the reproach made him by Cicero,
of his having been made a bankrupt, whilst he ^{Cic. Phil.}
yet wore the robe of childhood. ^{II.}

Julia, very unhappy in her husbands, mar- ^{The origi-}
ried for the second time with Lentulus Sura, ^{nal cause}
whom Cicero when he was Consul caused to be ^{of his ba-}
strangled in prison by order of the Senate. ^{tered to Ci-}
Anthony had passed a great part of his infan- ^{cero.}
cy in the house of Lentulus, his mother's hus-
band; and it was there that he received the
first seeds of his hatred to Cicero.

His youth was extremely debauched. He ^{Very de-}
was more than suspected of having a strict alli- ^{baunched in}
ance with Curio, a young man of much wit, but ^{his youth.}
very

A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 55

very disorderly in his manners. As such a life is always attended with many rash and extravagant expences, Anthony was indebted six millions of Sesterces, (about 37,500 pounds sterling) which Curio was answerable for. Curio the father, when he was informed of these disorders fell sick with grief. Cicero, who was his friend, entered into this affair in a manner not at all agreeable to Anthony. He persuaded the father to pay his son's debts, but, at the same time advised him to employ all his paternal authority to hinder him from ever seeing Anthony or speaking to him.

He attaches himself to Clodius; afterwards quits him to go into Greece.

The first sparks of ambition began to kindle in the heart of Anthony, and he attached himself to Clodius, at that time Tribune: A new alliance which still more and more alienated Cicero from him. Nevertheless he was soon disgusted at the fury of this madman, and, on the other hand, fearing the party that was forming against him, he quitted Rome, and went into Greece, to prepare himself there by bodily exercises to the business of arms, and at the same time, to cultivate his genius by studying of eloquence. Plutarch has observed, that his taste for eloquence was conformable to the character of his manners, stately, delighting in pomp and parade, and more noisy than solid.

Gabinus gives him the command of the horse in his army. He makes himself adored by the soldiers.

Gabinus at his going into Syria, desired to carry him with him. Anthony would not attend him without an honourable employment, and was appointed Commander of the Horse. He was made to be beloved by the soldiers, Familiar even to indecency, he drank with them, and drank as they did, and would contend with them in low buffoonry; no delicacy in

in his taste or in his manners; but the airs of a bully supported by real bravery, all this made him adored in the army. His manner of dressing himself had something of the soldier in it, his tunic tucked up, and fastened to his thigh, a great sword by his side, and a buckler of the thickest sort. He intended also to imitate Hercules, the author of his origine, with the statues of whom he boasted to have some resemblance in his face, a thick beard, a broad forehead and an aquiline nose.

But above all what gained their hearts, was his liberality, which he carried even to profusion: And in the end this quality alone for a long time supported his affairs, which he had otherwise ruined by giving into all manner of vice.

One instance in the time of his opulence may shew us how very extravagant he was in his liberality. He had one day commanded that a million of sesterces, about six thousand two hundred and fifty pounds sterling, should be given to one of those who was attached to him. His steward, thinking this largess exorbitant, laid the sum abroad in a place where he was to pass by. Anthony asked what that money was. The steward answering that it was the sum he would have given away. *I thought*, said Anthony, who perfectly well understood his meaning, *that a million of sesterces made much more, put as much again to it.*

While he served under Gabinus, he was scarce in a condition to satisfy the inclination he had to be giving. But he was better enabled to it, by the war against Alexander the son of Aristobulus, and that which was soon after made with Aristobulus himself; for that

His excessive liberality.

Aristobulus having made his escape from Rome, renews the war in Judea, is vanquished and taken again.
Joseph.

A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 55.

captive King found means to break his chains and fly from Rome with his son Antigonus. He came into Judea, and endeavoured to fortify himself there with some troops, that the favour of his name had re-assembled about him. It was unhappy for this Prince to have to do with enemies so powerful as the Romans, for he had courage and resolution : But he wanted forces, and his party was too unequal. Gabinius sent a detachment of his army against him under the command of Marc-Anthony, his son Sifenna and another general officer. Aristobulus had got together eight thousand men well armed, who, forced to come to action, fought like brave men. Five thousand were killed upon the spot, two thousand dispersed ; and the unfortunate Aristobulus with the other thousand he had left, shut himself up in a fort. It was not possible for him to make a long defence there ; at the end of two days he was taken again, and his son Antigonus with him. He was brought loaded with chains to Gabinius who sent him back again to Rome. The Senate kept Aristobulus prisoner ; but for his children they were restored to their mother, who had always served Gabinius faithfully in these last movements in Judea.

Gabinius leaves the war against the Arabs, to carry it on with the Parthians.
Dio. Ap-
pian. Jo-
seph. Plut.

Gabinius prepared himself to carry the war into the country of the Arabs, whose courses much incommoded Syria. It is true he was himself the most formidable foe to the People of his government, whom he plagued with all kinds of concussion and rapine : Therefore his zeal against the Arabian robbers did not carry him far. The opportunity and the hopes of a richer booty determined him to turn to the side of the Parthians.

Phraates,

Phraates, King of Parthia, had been killed by his own sons. These abominable parricides were very common in the house of Arsacides. Orodes and Mithridates as bad brothers as bad sons, disputed for the crown between themselves. Mithridates finding himself the weakest, had recourse to Gabinius. He came into his camp with Orsanes, the most illustrious nobleman of the Parthian nation, and he had not much difficulty to obtain his protection, by employing presents and promises. The Proconsul of Syria had already passed the Euphrates with his army, when a new prey, more easy and more opulent, brought him quickly back again, and frustrated Mithridates of his success.

Ptolomy Auletes came to look for him with letters from Pompey, and moreover promised him ten thousand talents (fifteen hundred thousand pounds sterling) if he would replace him upon the throne of Egypt. So prodigious a sum had powerful charms with Gabinius. He reckoned almost upon impunity, being supported by Pompey. Nevertheless the decree of the Senate, and the oracle of the Sibyl, which in express terms forbade the employing any troops to re-establish the King of Egypt, were obstacles that he had some difficulty to surmount. The greatest part of the Officers did not approve of so irregular an enterprize, Marc-Anthon, little scrupulous, thirsting for glory, and on the other hand gained by Ptolomy, determined Gabinius in favour of a design to which he had but too much inclination.

I have said that Archelaus reigned in Egypt jointly with Berenice. After the death of Se-

Z 2

leucus
Frein-
Suppl. B.
C. v. 41.

A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 55.

*Ptolomy
Auletes
brings him
back to-
wards
Egypt.*

*Archelaus
reigned in
Egypt with
Berenice.*

A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 55.

leucus Cybiosactes the Alexandrians had invited Philip the son of Antiochus Grypus to come and take the place that was left vacant by another Prince of the House of Seleucides : But Gabinius stopped him in his passage, and prevented the execution of that scheme. Archelaus was at that time in the army of Gabinius, with whom he had made an acquaintance during the war of Pompey with Mithridates, and who was come to join him, that he might accompany him in his expedition against the Parthians. He was the son, as I have said, of Archelaus the General of Mithridates's armies, but he made himself pass for the son of Mithridates himself. He offered himself upon this foot to the Alexandrians, whom he saw embarrassed, and was accepted of by them. The difficulty for him was to get away, for Gabinius, informed of his design, had him watched, however he made his escape. Dio even reports, that it was by a collusion of the Roman General, who was not displeased that Egypt, getting an able and courageous General, should be in a condition to make the greater resistance, and so furnish him with a pretence to pay himself the dearer for his services. Archelaus come to Alexandria, married the Queen, was acknowledged for King, and prepared himself to defend the crown just set upon his head.

*Anthony
seconded by
Hyrcanus
and Anti-
pater forces
the passages
of Egypt
and takes
Pelusium.
Dio. Plut.
Joseph.*

Gabinius, on his side, began his march, and crossed Judea. The entrance into Egypt was difficult, and gave almost more uneasiness to the Romans than the war itself. They were to pass through dry and sandy countries, which formed a defile between the lake Serbonida and the sea, and at the going out of this neck of land

land is Pelusium * a very strong place, and furnished with a numerous garrison. Anthony was detached with the horse, to prepare the way of the whole army, and seconded by Antipater, Minister of Hyrcanus, he succeeded perfectly well. This Idumæan able and intelligent, not only furnished him with money, arms, and provisions; but made the conquest of Pelusium easy to him, by gaining the Jews, who guarded the approaches to it. There were a great number of them settled in these Cantons, where they had even a temple built by Onias of the model of that of Jerusalem. The Pelusioties had reason to rejoice that they were fallen under the power of Anthony; for Ptolemy, a mean and cruel Prince, would have satisfied his revenge on them by plundering and murder. Anthony prevented it, and saved the city he had taken. Gabinius being arrived at Pelusium, entered into Egypt with his army divided into two bodies.

A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 53.

He would perhaps have found a resistance capable of stopping him, for a long time, if the Alexandrians Bravery had answered to that of their King's. But this people the most audacious and most rash that ever were known in all seditions, were very little fit for war. The labours of it especially made them afraid; and it is reported, that Archelaus having ordered them to fortify a camp, they cried out, that he ought to have bargained with undertakers for that work. It may be readily conceived, that such troops could not hold out against the Romans.

*The base-
ness and
effeminacy
of the
Alexan-
drians.*
Val. Max.
IX. 1.

* *Damietta.*

A. R. 697.

Ant. C. 55.

*Archelaus
is killed
and Pto-
my re-es-
tablisbed.*

However they fought several battles, in which Anthony always very much distinguished himself. At length, Archelaus being killed in an action, Gabinius remained master both of the city of Alexandria, and of all the kingdoms of Egypt, which he gave up to Ptolemy. Anthony, who was generous and humane, caused the body of Archelaus to be sought for, with whom he was allied by the rights of hospitality, and gave him funeral honours with great pomp. This attention and respect to the duties of friendship, notwithstanding the opposition of different parties and interests, gained Anthony much praise. Ptolemy had not a soul noble enough to deserve the like. In the first place he put to death his daughter Berenice, and afterwards the principal and richest of the Alexandrians. Besides the motive of revenge, he was glad to find among their spoils wherewithal to satisfy the engagements he had entered into with Gabinius.

This General did not continue long in Egypt, but several of his soldiers remained there, gained, without doubt, by the promises and money of Ptolemy, who could not confide in his own subjects, and thought, he could not maintain himself upon the throne, without the help of those who had again put him in possession of it. These Romans settled themselves at Alexandria, and married there, and Cæsar eight years after found them become true Alexandrians, and that they had almost totally forgot the Roman manners.

*Cæf. de B.
Cic. III.
110.*

*New trou-
bles in
Judea.*

New troubles in Judea recalled Gabinius thither. When he went into Egypt, he had left his son Sisenna to command in his absence, who

who was very young without experience, and without authority. Alexander the son of Aristobulus took advantage of so favourable an opportunity once more to raise the whole country, and he began especially to fall upon the Romans. Those who could escape him retired to mount Garizim, and he besieged them there with an army, which must have been very numerous, since after Antipater had debauched a great part of it, he had thirty thousand men remaining. Notwithstanding the diminution of his forces, he waited for Gabinius, with resolution. When the battle came on, he was vanquished, and this last revolt as well as the former, could not but add to the yoke of the Jews, and make them still more dependent on the dominion of the Romans.

Gabinius, after he had disposed affairs in Judea and Jerusalem, as he had agreed with Antipater, marched against the Arabs, who, in his absence, had given a good deal of trouble to Syria by their courses. He obtained some advantages over them, and afterwards prepared to carry the war among the Parthians, according to his antient plan, when a Lieutenant of Crassus arrived, who came in his name to take the command of the army. Gabinius would not acknowledge or receive this Officer, as if he had designed to perpetuate himself in his employment: And this perhaps was what engaged Crassus to hasten his departure. Gabinius did not judge it would be proper to wait for him; but before he retired, he revenged himself by sending back Mithridates and Orfanes, and so depriving Crassus of the assistance he might have had from them in the war against the Parthians. As this action was black

A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 55.
The defeat of Alexander, the son of Aristobulus.
Joseph.

Gabinius is obliged to yield the command of his army to Crassus.
Dio.

A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 55.

in itself, and capable of exasperating the Roman army, he caused a report to be spread, that they had fled.

*A general
disgust in
mens minds
at Rome a-
gainst Ga-
binus.*

Gabinus was to return to Italy, and this gave him much uneasiness. The minds of men in general were disgusted against him. He had not dared to write to Rome, to give an account of the re-establishment of Ptolemy. But when the news of it arrived there by public report, the People were extremely enraged at the contempt he had shewn for religion, and the oracle of the Sybil. The Senate, a long time irritated against him, could not forgive his trampling their authority under foot. The Publicans, to whom he had shewn himself an implacable enemy, cried out aloud against him. And even the Syrians complained, either of his unjust acts, or of the ravages he had exposed them to from the Arabs, by going out of his Province. Cicero, to so many subjects of discontent, joined violent invectives, and, without doubt, would have obtained a decree of the Senate against Gabinus, if the Consuls Pompey and Crassus had not powerfully protected him; Pompey through the effect of his antient friendship for a man, who had been always attached to him; and Crassus, as much through a consideration for his Colleague, as on account of the money, that he had received from the culpable person.

This first storm was thus blown over; but it was renewed the year following, which had for Consuls L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Ap. Claudius Pulcher.

L. DOMITIUS

L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS.

AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

A. R. 698.

Ant. C. 54.

Of the two Consuls, the first, devoted at all times to the Aristocratical party, made it his glory to be a declared enemy to the Triumviral League, which had even made him miss the Consulship the preceding year. The second was a man undetermined, a friend of Pompey to a certain point, accessible to corruption and presents, nevertheless capable, through vanity, and a perverseness of temper, to affect severity, and make a shew of being a lover of liberty and the laws. Thus Gabinius was sure of having Domitius against him, and could scarce reckon upon the protection of Appius.

Although he had remitted to Rome very considerable sums to all those of whom he thought he should stand in need, yet his conscience so terrified him, that he protracted his journey as long as ever he was able. He did not arrive till the latter end of September, entered the city in the night, and passed some time shut up in his house, without daring to shew himself. However he was obliged to come to the Senate, according to custom, to lay before it the state of the enemies forces, and that of the Roman troops which he had left in his Province. He was extremely ill treated, especially by Cicero, against whom he had no other resource, than to reproach him with his exile. At this word all the Senate moved with indignation rose up, and taking the part of Cicero, loaded Gabinius with outcries and menaces: and so the Assembly parted.

There

A. R. 698.
Ant. C. 54.
*He is ac-
cused of the
crime of
public
Lese-Ma-
jesty, and
acquitted.*

There was a struggle who should accuse a man so odious and so criminal. Three companies (for it was the practice in Rome, that a principal accuser got himself supported by several seconds) presented themselves to the Prætor, who had the cognizance of the crime of public Lese-Majesty, and demanded that they may be permitted to accuse Gabinus. Cicero had a great desire to have put himself among this number, but was withheld by his consideration of Pompey, who was so far from being disposed to approve of his accusing Gabinus, that he even pressed him to reconcile himself to him. Our orator for that time refused the reconciliation; but he thought he ought not to oppose Pompey so far as to become an accuser.

Val. Max.
VIII. 1.

Among those who undertook to accuse Gabinus, was C. Memmius a Tribune of the People, who as a prelude to the accusation in form, inveighed against him in an Assembly with so much vehemence, that the multitude transported with rage, were just ready to call out for the punishment of the criminal. Siffenna, the son of Gabinus, came, in the presence of every body, and threw himself at the feet of the Tribune, and in the motion he made to embrace his knees, the gold ring he had upon his finger fell off. The sight of this young man thus prostrate and humbling himself, began to soften the People; and the haughtiness of Memmius, who repulsed Siffenna roughly made an end of changing the hatred they before bore to Gabinus into commiseration.

I know

I know not whether this adventure contributed to prevent the Judges giving the part of accuser to Memmius, but Q. Lentulus was preferred to him. This was the person ^{A. R. 698.} ^{Ant. O. 54.} Gabinius would have chosen himself had it been in his power. A man without talents, who acted in this affair with much coolness, and who indeed pleaded very ill. The public report accused him of having an understanding with the person whom he prosecuted. Nevertheless the cause of Gabinius was so bad, his contravention to a decree of the Senate, and oracle acknowledged for divine, so positive, that it seemed impossible for him to avoid condemnation. Very grave witnesses, and Cicero among the rest, charged him home. But the protection of Pompey, who then did every thing, and the money of the accused, triumphed over all laws, rules, judgments and public honour. Gabinius was absolved by a majority of thirty-eight voices against thirty-two.

A judgment so unjust exasperated all men : *The public indignation* And as Gabinius, besides the crime of Lese-Majesty, of which he was just acquitted, had *against this infamous judgment.* still to answer to two other accusations, that of canvassing, and that of concussion, Cicero foretold from that time that he must sink under one of them. An unforeseen event, and wholly strange, did him great harm, and enflamed the People's indignation against him afresh. The Tiber overflowed its banks, and did much mischief in the city. This, by the multitude, was looked upon as a proof of the wrath of the gods : And the cause was immediately attributed to the impunity of the Judges for having suffered an impious wretch to escape who had despised the oracles of heaven.

In

A. R. 698.

Ant. C. 54.

*He is accused of concussion.**Cicero pleads for him.*

Dio. Cic.

In these circumstances he was obliged to appear before the tribunal of Cato, then Prætor, to answer to the accusation of concussion. In this second affair, he had (who could believe it?) Cicero for a defender. Pompey was desirous that Cicero should have undertaken the cause of Gabinius, when accused of Lese-Majesty. Cicero defended himself against it, and in writing to his brother, protested that as long as he could preserve the least shadow of liberty, he would never take such a step. He looked upon it, with reason, as an infamous thing to plead for a guilty person, whom he had cause to hate, and against whom he had spoke freely on all occasions. But this time Pompey redoubled his instances, and exacted from him with all his power, that he should share with him, in the dishonour of protecting a criminal hated by gods and men. Cicero had already made so many false steps, that he thought himself as it were obliged still to add this to them. Gabinius had himself, for some time, been endeavouring to soften Cicero. And when Cicero in the last affair had attacked him with a warm deposition, the accused, instead of answering in the same tone, declared that if he got over that business with honour, and was permitted to live in the city, he would endeavour to regain his friendship. This protestation so obliging and so submissive pleased Cicero, and Pompey, returning to the charge in a manner not to be refused, overcame at length all his repugnance. This was not the first time that he had undertaken causes, which he himself had acknowledged were bad. He therefore pleaded for Gabinius.

Pompey

Pompey joined all his power to the eloquence of Cicero. As in quality of Proconsul he could not enter Rome, he caused the People to be invited to assemble themselves without the city, and harangued strongly in favour of the accused. He obtained letters of recommendation from Cæsar, he solicited the Judges himself. But the People struck with the fear of celestial wrath, would not easily suffer their victim to be taken from them. On the other hand, Gabinius, who had escaped from a greater danger than he now thought himself in, was more sparing in his expences, and did not bestow very abundant largesses on the Judges. He was condemned, and obliged to go into exile, where he remained till the war between Cæsar and Pompey. Cicero had therefore the disgrace of being found false with regard to Gabinius, not out of generosity, for that might have been laudable, but through a servile complaisance to power.

He had defended this same year, with as little honour, but more success, another of his old enemies, whom he sovereignly despised. This was Vatinius. In the preceding year, while this unworthy competitor of Cato disputed the Prætorship with him, Cicero had often times used him ill in the Senate. But when he had carried it by voices, as I have related above, the same Cicero, at the desire of Pompey, who always weakened him, reconciled himself to Vatinius. From thence he had but one more step to take, when he was accused of canvassing at his going out of the Prætorship. Cæsar came to his support, and that was a solicitation very powerful with Cicero, who was careful in preserving such a friend, and whose brother

A. R. 698.

Ant. C. 54.

Gabinius

is condemn-

ed.

Vatinius

defended

in the like

manner by

Cicero,

and ac-

quitted.

Cic. ad

Fam. I. 9.

A. R. 698.
Ant. C. 54.

brother served him as Lieutenant-General in Gaul. Lastly, the caresses and marks of benevolence, that the zealous Republicans continued to lavish upon Clodius, sensibly piqued our orator; and he was glad, as he declared himself in pleading, to pique them in his turn, and turn the tables upon them by favouring Vatinius. He therefore prevailed upon himself to undertake the cause of a man equally odious and despicable, and whose crime was more evident than the sun at noon-day. No eloquence could have been sufficient to have saved him from punishment; but the triumphal faction succeeded in it. The accuser, a man of wit, displayed his talents, which were great, and which had secured him an honourable rank among the most celebrated orators of his age. All the endeavours of Calvus failed against the authority of Cæsar and Pompey. Vatinius was absolved.

The pleading of Calvus on this occasion, is often cited with praise by the Antients: But we have not those of Cicero for Gabinius and Vatinius; and it seems he had only left among his papers some sketches of them without their being polished, and without his having put the last hand to them. It is probable that shame would not permit him to make them public.

*The great
grief with
which Ci-
cero is
touched in
being ob-
liged to de-
fend his
enemies.*

For he was not capable of blinding himself to his errors, he felt them. Understanding never failed him, but his courage did not answer to it. And he sighed bitterly for it. He complains to his brother of the servitude in which he lived, so far as not to be at liberty even in his hatred, and that at a time when he ought to be the arbiter of the greatest affairs in the Commonwealth. Pliny has preserved to us a cele-

Cic. ad Q.
Fr. III. 5.
Plin. Præf.
Hist. Nat.

a celebrated saying of his, which expresses the same sentiment. Cicero comparing his situation with that of Cato, who was respected even by those who were very far from imitating his virtue : *O Cato (a) cried he, how happy are you, who have no body that dare ask any thing of you that is contrary to honour !* He might have been as happy ; he only wanted resolution.

The consequences of the affair of Gabinius have brought me thus far ; I must now go back, and resume the exploits of Cæsar, in his third campaign, where we stopt.

(a) *O te felicem, M. Porci ! à quo rem improbam nemo petere audet.*

 BOOK THE FORTY FIRST.

 THE
 ROMAN HISTORY.

FOUR campaigns of Cæsar in the Gauls. The unhappy expedition of Crassus against the Parthians. In the years of Rome 696 to 699.

S E C T. I.

The state of the Gauls after Cæsar's two first campaigns. The Veneti form a powerful league against the Romans. Cæsar distributes his forces in different parts of Gaul, and goes in person against the Veneti. A sea-fight, wherein the Veneti are vanquished. They surrender at discretion, and are treated with rigour. The victory of Sabinus, Cæsar's Lieutenant, over three nations allied to the Veneti. The Aquitani subdued by P. Crassus. Cæsar undertakes to bring under his yoke the Morini, and the Menapii, but is stopped by the bad weather.

CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS.

A. R. 696.

L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

Ant. C. 56.

GAUL seemed to be almost subdued by the exploits of the two first campaigns of Cæsar. The Helvetii vanquished, and forced to return to their own country; the Germans drove beyond the Rhine; the numerous armies of the Belgæ dissipated and destroyed, and their towns brought to a composition, or taken by force; so many and so great victories had rendered the Romans masters of all the country which extends from the lake of Geneva and the Rhone, to the German ocean, and the very heart of Gaul. At the same time that Cæsar made war in person against the Belgæ, P. Crassus, one of his Lieutenants, had over-run the western part of Gaul, which we at this time call Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Bretagne; and had obliged the people of these countries to acknowledge the Roman Empire, and give hostages. But the love of liberty, and the hatred of a foreign dominion, were not sentiments to be easily extinguished among the Gauls; and particularly, the people who had treated with Crassus having been rather surprized by a sudden terror, than vanquished by force, made no scruple to revolt.

The Veneti * gave the signal for the rebellion. This nation was very powerful, especially in its naval forces. They had many ships, with which they carried on a trade to Great-Britain. They surpassed their neighbours in

The state of Gaul after Cæsar's two first campaigns.

Cæf. de B. G. II.

The Veneti form a powerful league against the Romans.

Cæf. de B. Gall. L. III.

* *Those of Vannes.*

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A a

skill

A. R. 696.
Ant. C. 56.

skill and experience in maritime affairs ; and as their coast had but a small number of Ports, of which they were the sole masters, they gave law to all who navigated in those seas, and drew tribute from them. P. Crassus, who had established his winter-quarters in Anjou, and who wanted provisions, having sent two officers to them to demand corn, the Veneti kept them prisoners, and their example was followed by the Curiosolites *, and the Eufubii †, who had received Deputies from Crassus charged with the same orders. These three people uniting for the defence of their liberty, soon made several others enter into the same league ; and they all declared, with one common consent, to Crassus, that he must return their hostages, if he expected to have his Deputies restored.

Cæsar informed of these movements by Crassus, used his accustomed speed. Although he was at a great distance ‡, nevertheless, he immediately gave orders to build a fleet upon the Loire, and to take rowers, sailors, and pilots out of the Roman province. He also commanded those of Poitou and Saintonge, who continued obedient, to furnish him with ships, after which he came with expedition, and put himself at the head of his army.

His arrival did not intimidate the Veneti, but made them endeavour to strengthen themselves with a great number of Allies ; and they succeeded so well, that all the people of the coast, from Montz to the mouth of the Rhine,

* Those of Cornwall.

† This name is unknown. Some have thought that it ought to be read Lexobios, (in Cæsar's text) those of Lifieux.

‡ Cæsar does not tell us precisely where he was. So I have left the expression in general.

entered into the confederation. They even brought succours from Great-Britain.

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These forces were considerable, and might easily have increased by the junction of several other Gaulish people, who bore their yoke with impatience, or apprehended to see themselves soon subdued.

Cæsar, to restrain those who had not yet declared themselves, and farther, to hinder the Confederates from uniting together in one army, took the method of dividing his troops, and dispersing them in different parts of Gaul. He sent Labientus towards Treves with a body of cavalry. P. Crassus, at the head of twelve legionary cohorts, passed Garonne, and entered into Aquitaine. Another Lieutenant-General, named Q. Titurius Sabinus, was charged with three legions, to give employment among them to the people, who inhabited the coasts which we call Lower-Bretagne and of Normandy as far as Lisieux. D. Brutus was named Commander of the fleet that was to fight the Veneti, and Cæsar himself brought against them the land-forces.

Cæsar distributes his forces in different parts of Gaul; and goes himself in person against the Veneti.

He laid siege to several of their places, but with much pain and very little success. The greatest part of their towns were built on promontories, and points of land, whose foot was washed by the waters of the sea at high tide, and open when it was low. Thus neither the land-forces could attack these places under water for six hours, nor the ships keep before them, because it was dry for the six hours following. And when the Romans by immense works had raised dikes that might stay the flood, the Veneti retreated with all their people,

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Ant. C. 56.

*A sea-
fight,
wherein
the Veneti
are van-
quished.*

ple, and all their provisions to their ships, and went and shut themselves up in another place.

Cæsar apprehended he should give himself unnecessary trouble, and that he could not reduce the Veneti but by a naval battle. He took therefore the method of waiting for his fleet; and when it was arrived, the enemy did not delay to come out of their ports to fight. They had great confidence in their marine; and came to fall upon the Romans with two hundred and twenty vessels, very well equipt, and built in the most commodious manner for riding at sea. These were ships of high sides, which went with sails, and whose bottoms were yet flat enough to put them out of danger of running a-ground at low water. The Romans, on the contrary, had only gallies so low, that even the towers that they placed upon them could hardly reach the sides of the enemies ships. Thus they suffered more from the darts thrown by the Gauls, and could scarce do them any damage by those which they lanced up to them from beneath them. Their only resource was to come to board them, when the bravery of their soldiers, and the number of their vessels might give them the superiority. To bring the combat to this point, this was the expedient they made use of.

They had scythes very sharp, and fastened to long poles, with which they laid hold on the cordage that tied the yards to the masts, then getting farther off by the help of their oars, they broke or cut the ropes which the scythes hung on. The yards fell; having no longer any sails, the Gaulish vessels became immoveable, and it was impossible to work them. Two or three Roman gallies then going round them,

them, the Roman soldiers jumped into them on all sides, and their valour being animated by the sight of Cæsar himself and the whole land-army, which covered all the neighbouring shores, easily triumphed over the enemy, already half vanquished by the loss they sustained at the first onset. A great number of the Gaulish vessels being forced in this manner, the others thought of betaking themselves to flight, but there happened a calm all on a sudden, which delivered them up to their conquerors. The night only saved some of them, all the rest were taken by the Romans.

This battle made an end of the war, for all the forces of the nation of the Veneti were assembled in this fleet. They had lost all their youth, all who were eminent among them by their rank or authority, all their ships. They were obliged to surrender at discretion.

Cæsar treated them with rigour, as being guilty of having violated the law of nations, in the persons of those Roman officers who had been sent to them by P. Crassus, and whom they had retained prisoners. He pretended, that it was necessary to teach these Barbarians to respect those who were invested with public characters. I know not whether this was not a little too lofty concerning men whose commission reduced them to buy corn, and whether the Roman pride and haughtiness did not influence Cæsar too much in the judgment he made and exercised on this occasion. Be that as it may, the unhappy Veneti were the victims to it. All their Senators were put to death, and the rest of them sold by outcry.

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Ant. C. 56.

*The victory**of Sabinus,**Cæsar's**Lieute-**nant, over**three na-**tions allied**to the Ve-**neti.*

The arms of Cæsar prospered on every side. At the same time that he vanquished the Veneti, Titurius Sabinus gained a great battle over the Unelli *, the Ebuovices †, and the Lexovii united. The rage of the two last people for the war was so furious, that they had massacred their Senate, for having opposed it. After this cruel execution they joined their troops to those of the Unelli, whose Chief Viridovix was acknowledged for Generalissimo of the army of the three nations. Under his command they marched to the Romans, and came and posted themselves within two thousand paces of their camp, dared them to the combat, and every day reviewed their numerous troops within their sight.

Sabinus conducted himself like an able and a prudent officer. He thought it was not proper for a simple Lieutenant, in the absence of his General, to hazard, without necessity, a battle against an army much stronger in number than his own. Therefore, in spite of the bravado's of the enemies, and the discontent of his own soldiers, he kept himself close in his camp, being glad, by this appearance of timidity, to augment the contempt that the Gauls had for him. He went farther; he sent away a pretended deserter, who gave them false intelligence, and said, that Cæsar was very much embarrassed to support the war against the Veneti, and that Sabinus was the next night to steal privately out of his camp, and march to the succour of his General. This account had nothing in it but what was probable; and,

* *The people of Cotentin.*† *Those of Eureux.*

on the other hand, they easily believed what they wished. Thus the Gauls, full of joy and confidence, forced their Generals to lead them on immediately to attack the camp of the Romans. They made provisions of fascines to fill the fosses, and advanced as to certain victory.

The Romans were encamped upon an eminence. Our Gauls mounted with precipitation, and arrived there quite out of breath. In an instant Sabinus caused all his troops to sally out upon them at two gates at once. This sally was so brisk, that the assailants, fatigued by too rude a march, and encumbered with the fascines, they brought along with them, could not even support the first shock. They took to flight, leaving a great number dead upon the place. The Roman cavalry pursued them, and made an end of destroying this numerous army, in such a manner that there escaped but a very small party of it.

The Gauls were as soon discouraged by disgrace, as they were ardent at first in undertaking the war. Thus this defeat totally quelled this vanquished nation, and they submitted themselves to Sabinus.

P. Crassus did not succeed less happily in Aquitaine. He gained a battle, took an important city, and forced a camp. I will not stop to give a detail of his exploits. I shall only observe, that the enemy he vanquished made a very fine defence. The Sotiates *, whom he attacked the first, had a great share in the defeat of L. Manilius, Proconsul of Nar-

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The Aquitani subdued by P. Crassus.

See Vol X. B. xxxiv.

* Sanfon pretends that the city of the Sotiates was Leitours. Others think a vestige of the name of this ancient people is found in the village of sos en Estarac.

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bonensian Gaul, at the time of the war of Sertorius. Proud of this victory, they fought against Crassus with the more courage; and after they were vanquished, they shut themselves up in their city, where they maintained the siege with great bravery. They gave proofs of their valour in several sallies; and as they knew perfectly well the use of mines, they carried some under the works of the besiegers. All was ineffectual, and they were obliged to surrender to Crassus, who disarmed them.

The defeat of the Sotiates, and the taking their city, was a warning to the other people of Aquitaine to unite themselves against the Conqueror. They even implored the assistance of the Spaniards their neighbours, and got some of the persons raised by the great Sertorius to come and command them. Under these new chiefs, war was not made with the impetuosity and fury commonly used by the Barbarians. They avoided coming to an engagement, and kept themselves in a camp well fortified, being willing to keep the advantage they had of making war in a country that was their friend, and upon their land, and to ruin their enemies by length of time, since they were constrained to get their provisions far off, and with much difficulty. This was what obliged Crassus to assault their camp; and he would have found a good deal of trouble to have forced it, if the rear of this camp had been guarded with care. But it was neglected; and Crassus, who had notice of it, sent his cavalry there with four cohorts of reserve. These troops entered into the enemies camp without resistance, and the Aquitani, encompassed behind, attacked with vigour before, found they were not in a condition

tion to defend themselves ; but were cut to pieces. Of fifty thousand, there hardly remained the fourth part. The fruit of this victory was the submission of all the Aquitani, except some few drawn back, and hid in the Pyrenees.

This was the last service that P. Crassus rendered Cæsar. He went afterwards to Rome, and even carried thither a considerable number of soldiers for the support of Pompey and Crassus, in their demanding the Consulship, and then followed his father in the unfortunate expedition against the Parthians.

When Cæsar had finished the war with the Veneti, the season was far advanced : Nevertheless as the Morini and the Menapii *, people situated in the northern part of Gaul, after having entered into the league, which was just dissipated and overcome, had not yet taken any step to shew their submission to the Romans. Cæsar, who thought he had done nothing (a) while there remained any thing to do, marched against them to make a complete end of his victory. He found more difficulty in it than he expected. These People, by example of others, apprehended that no Gaulish army could hold out a campaign against the Romans ; and as their country was all covered with woods and morasses, they retired thither with all their effects.

Cæsar arrived at the entrance of these woods, and began to fortify a camp. The Gauls made

* The Morini inhabited along the sea, between the Somme and the Scheld. The Menapii in the time of Cæsar occupied the two banks of the

Rhine below the place where Cologne has been since built.

(a) Nil actum credens, dum quid superesset agendum. Lucan. II. 657.

a fally

A. R. 696.
Ant. C. 56.

Cæsar undertakes to bring under his yoke the Morini and the Menapii but is stopped by the bad weather.

A. R. 696.
Ant. C. 56.

a sally upon their workmen: He engaged them in a battle, in which finding themselves pressed, they made to their retreats. The ardour of the victory made the Romans follow them thither; but they found they did wrong, and in these incumbered roads they lost several of their bravest soldiers.

No obstacles could stop Cæsar. He resolved to lay low these immense forests, and with the trees that he cut down he made a kind of ramparts, placing them on both sides his army to cover the flanks of it against the sudden incursions of the Barbarians. He had already cleared a very great space of ground with incredible diligence, and was got as far as the place where the enemies cattle and baggage were, so that they were forced to plunge themselves into forests that were thicker and deeper. But the bad weather that came on, and the continual rains, would not allow him to keep his army any longer without shelter. He was obliged to yield to necessity, and leave his victory imperfect. But he ravaged the country, and burnt the villages and all the houses of these unhappy people; after which he retired; and distributed his troops in winter quarters upon the lands of the Auleri *, and of other people newly subdued.

* *The Auleri Eburovices are those of Eureux, the Auleri Cenomani those of Maine.*

S E C T. II.

Gaul continues peaceable through necessity. The Usipii and the Tencteri, People of Germany pass the Rhine. Cæsar marches against them. A negotiation begun between these People and Cæsar, but broke off by a battle, without its being clear which side was in fault. The Germans are surprized by Cæsar and entirely defeated. Cæsar resolves to pass the Rhine. His motives for so doing. The description of a bridge built over the Rhine by Cæsar. His exploits in Germany, reduced to a small compass. He forms the design of going over into Great-Britain. His motives for it. He prepares every thing for his passage. He departs. The battle on his landing. The submissive behaviour on the side of the Barbarians. The cavalry of Cæsar cannot land. His fleet is ill used by the high tides. The Barbarians renew the war. The use that they made of their chariots in battle. A treaty between Cæsar and these islanders. Cæsar repasses into Gaul.

CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS II.

A. R. 697.

M. LICINIUS CRASSUS II.

Ant. C. 59

GAUL did not much exercise the activity of Cæsar during the year that Pompey and Crassus were Consuls for the second time. Attacked successively on all sides, undergoing one after another, so many violent defeats, their astonishment, their dismay, and above all their weakness from the losses they had sustained, forced them to remain quiet and submissive, at least for a time. Two German nations

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Ant. C. 55.

tions came, as it were, to relieve them, and present an occasion to Cæsar of avoiding that repose, which was insupportable to him.

*The Usipii
and the
Tencteri
People of
Germany
pass the
Rhine.*

Cæf. de B.
G. L. IV.

The Usipii and Tencteri were neighbours of the Suevi, a very powerful nation who occupied a great part of Germany, and who were composed of an hundred nations or cantons, from each of which there went out a thousand men every year to make war. The Suevi were bad neighbours. They thought it was their glory to be bounded by vast solitudes, which might prove that a great number of People had not been able to sustain their efforts. The Tencteri and the Usipii found themselves in this case. After having resisted the Suevi for many years, they were drove off of their lands, and obliged to wander here and there, for the space of three years, through different parts of Germany, and at length arrived, during the winter of the year we are speaking of, on the banks of the Rhine, at the place inhabited by the Menapii, who had hamlets and little villages on both sides the river.

At the approach of this cloud of Germans (for they were not an army, but the two nations who marched in a body, men, women, and children, to the number of above four hundred and thirty thousand heads) those of the Menapii who occupied the right hand bank of the Rhine retired to this side from the Gauls, and disposed their troops to hinder the enemies passage. The Germans having no boats, and seeing the opposite bank carefully guarded, made use of this stratagem. They caused a report to be spread, that they would return to their own country, and they actually went three days march distance from the river. The
Menapii

Menapii thought they were gone, and returned to their hamlets. But the German cavalry returning with speed and having gained the neighbourhood of the river in one night only, surprized the too credulous Gauls, cut their throats, and having seized on their boats, passed over to the other side, before that part of the Menapii which occupied it was informed of what had happened. The Victors remained masters of the country, and lived there all the winter on the provisions they found in it.

As soon as Cæsar heard of the passage of the Usipii and Tencteri, he was afraid the Gauls would call these new-comers to their aid, and that he should find a war renewed more difficult and more dangerous than those which he had put an end to with so much trouble. Here he accuses us Gauls of an incredible levity. He says that they stopped travellers upon the main road and in the streets in their towns, and especially Merchants, whom they examined about the countries they came from, and forced them to give them answers, upon which answers, oftentimes no better founded than on uncertain reports, or dictated by a desire to please, they took their measures with regard to their most important affairs, which made them oftentimes repent very soon, when the event shewed them they had been deceived. The knowledge that Cæsar had of this facility in the Gauls to engage in any new enterprizes, determined him to come sooner than ordinary to put himself at the head of his army, that by his presence he might check any projects of a revolt.

At his arrival he learnt, that, according to his suspicions, some of the Gaulish People had already

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Cæsar
marches
against
them.

A. R. 697. already sent intelligence to the Usipii and the
 Ant. C. 55. Tenceteri, who, in consequence of it, had quit-
 ted the banks of the Rhine, and were advanced
 to the lands of the Eburons * and of the Con-
 druses †, clients of those of Treves. Like
 an able man, he feigned himself ignorant of
 that which it was not a time to punish. He
 called about the principal chiefs of the Gauls,
 spoke to them with benevolence, and having
 demanded some cavalry of them, marched a-
 gainst the Germans.

*A negotia-
 tion begun
 between
 these Peo-
 ple and
 Cæsar, but
 broke off by
 a battle
 without its
 being clear
 which side
 was in
 fault.*

When he was within a few days march of
 them, he saw coming to him Ambassadors
 from them, who spoke a language, in which,
 in spite of their haughtiness and bravado's
 after the manner of the Barbarians, it was easy
 to perceive some uneasiness and fear. They
 told him, “ that those who sent them had no
 design to enter into a war with the Romans ;
 “ that if they were attacked, they knew how
 “ to defend themselves, having learnt from
 “ their fathers never to ask quarter. That
 “ nevertheless they were willing to pro-
 “ test to him that they had not entered into
 “ Gaul, but against their inclinations, and be-
 “ cause they had been driven out of their own
 “ country. That if the Romans would have
 “ them for friends, the Usipii and the Tenc-
 “ teri, might not be unuseful to them. That
 “ they were ready either to accept of the lands
 “ that Cæsar should think fit to give them, or
 “ to establish themselves upon those they had
 “ conquered. That they did not yield in point
 “ of bravery to any but the Suevi, whom the

* Those of Liege.

† The Condros still retain that ancient name.

“ immortal Gods themselves were not able to
“ resist; but that there were no other people
“ in the world whom they were not fully per-
“ suaded they were able to overcome.”

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Cæsar declared plainly to them, that there were no lands they could hope for on this side the Rhine: But he made a proposal to them, that they should incorporate themselves with the Ubii, a German People, and galled, as they were, by the Suevi. These Ubii, who at that time inhabited upon the right bank of the Rhine, had implored the assistance of Cæsar, and he would procure them a powerful reinforcement, without expence or trouble, by joining the Usipii and the Tencteri to them. This proposition of the Roman General gave rise to a negotiation, during which he still advanced. When he was within eight thousand paces of them, a battle was given by the horse, in which eight hundred Germans defeated and put to flight five thousand of the Roman cavalry.

Among those who perished on this occasion, Cæsar particularly regretted an illustrious Aquitain, of very high birth, who had been made a citizen of Rome, as appeared by the name of Piso which he bore. This brave man seeing his brother surrounded by the enemy, ran to him, and disengaged him. But having his horse wounded, was obliged to dismount, and having defended himself valiantly a long time on foot, was at length overpowered by number, and left dead on the place: His brother who had retreated, seeing what had happened at a distance, and not being able to survive a brother he tenderly loved, and who had been his deliverer, returned full speed, and throwing himself

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himself in the midst of his enemies, was killed in the same manner.

This battle was of great importance, by the circumstance of its having been given at a time when there was a negotiation open between Cæsar and the Germans. By whom he was engaged, and consequently upon whom the reproach of perfidy ought to fall. It is a problem that labours under some difficulty. Cæsar threw the fault upon the Barbarians; but several people were persuaded at Rome, that it was he who had violated the faith of the treaty; and when they were decreeing him honours in the senate for his exploits in this campaign, Cato Plut. Cæs. gave it for his opinion, that he should be delivered up to the Germans, that he might suffer alone the punishment of his infidelity, and that the Commonwealth might not be answerable for it to gods and men.

It is difficult to decide upon a point so obscure, and concerning which the interest of Cæsar, on one side, lessened the weight of his evidence, and where hatred and partiality, on the other, might carry Cato beyond due bounds. It is known that Cæsar was not scrupulous in acts of morality: But his proceedings were frank and generous, at least to outward appearance; and how little soever he troubled himself about having truth and justice at the bottom of what he did, he always affected to make a shew of them. It must nevertheless be allowed that appearances were not for him here. It is not probable that eight hundred horsemen should be determined the first to attack five thousand: And a step of the Germans, which seemed to prove their good faith, was that, the day after the battle, they sent their deputies again to Cæsar,

Cæsar, to make him their excuses, and to con-
 A. R. 697.
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 tinue the negotiation.

Cæsar kept these Deputies prisoners, and he
 had reason, if it was true, as he accused them, *The Ger-*
 that they came to deceive, and amuse, him *mans are*
 with fair speeches, while their nation were com- *surprized*
 mitting acts of hostility against the Romans. *by Cæsar,*
and entire-
ly defeated.

At the same time, judging that the Germans did not any longer fear being attacked, and therefore were not much upon their guard, while they sent to negotiate with him, he made his army go out of the camp, and march in order of battle to the enemy. He disposed his troops in three lines, leaving the cavalry in the rear, on account of the terror of which he thought they were not yet well recovered since their defeat.

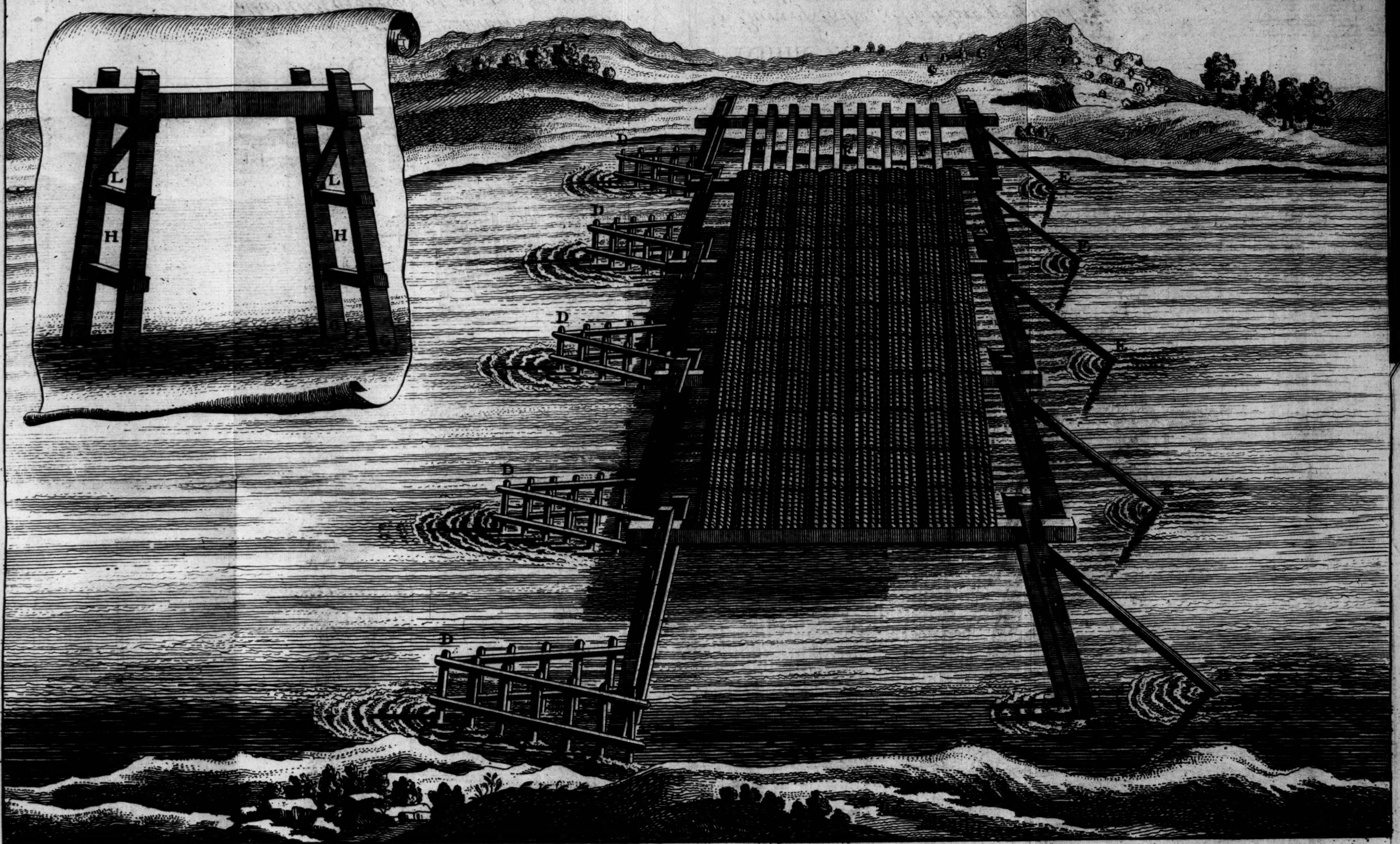
He found things as he had foreseen. The Germans were surprized, and had not the time necessary to put themselves upon their defence. Some were for continuing in the camp, and others for going out into the open plain. During this trouble and confusion the Romans fell upon them, and had an easy conquest. It was not a battle but a rout. After some of the bravest of them had ineffectually attempted to make a slight resistance, all were put to flight. The women and children, who covered all the place, were massacred by the Roman cavalry. The others pursued as far as the conflux of the Meuse and Rhine, threw themselves precipitately into those rivers, and almost all perished, so that of this prodigious multitude very few escaped. The Romans did not lose one man, and had but a very small number wounded.

It was at that time that Cæsar resolved to *Cæsar re-*
 pass the Rhine. He relates different motives *solves to*
pass the
Rhine.
 Vol. XII. B b which *His mo-*
tives.

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which determined him to it; but it may be suspected, that he concealed the true one, which was nothing but an immoderate desire of a new kind of glory, and the inclination he had to make a noise. The Rhine and Germany were then very little known to the Romans. It was therefore a singular and very shining honour to be the first who passed that great river, and carried terror into a barbarous country, with which Rome had almost never had any commerce till that time.

The reasons alledged by Cæsar are nevertheless not altogether void of solidity. The first, and, according to him, the most just, was, that seeing the Germans so easily brought themselves to pass the Rhine, and come into Gaul, he was glad to let them know, that they might also fear to see the enemy in their territories. Moreover the cavalry of the Usipii and Tenc-teri, who were not found in the battle, because they had been sent several days before on the other side the Meuse to plunder the country, and bring away forage, had retreated after the victory of Cæsar, beyond the Rhine among the Sicambri: And the Victor having demanded that these fugitives should be delivered up to him, the Sicambri answered that the Rhine bounded the Roman Dominions, and that if the Romans pretended to prohibit the passage of the Germanic nations, they ought to submit to the same law, and not to arrogate to themselves any right or authority beyond that river. Lastly, the Ubii, continually harrassed by the Suevi, desired Cæsar to shew himself in Germany, maintaining, that that step alone would be sufficient to procure them repose ever after.



CÆSAR'S Bridge over the Rhine near Cologn.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>A Pair of Stakes above, which incline towards y^e other; that are below, at 40 Feet Distance.</p> <p>B Pair of Stakes below, which incline to those above.</p> <p>C The Beam that is extended in the Interval between the Stakes.</p> <p>D A Spur or Stacado, put above in y^e Course of y^e River to break off whatever may Obstruct its Current.</p> <p>E Pieces of Wood in y^e form of Buttresses to support the Stakes below against y^e force of the Water.</p> <p>F One of y^e Ends of y^e Bridge, w^{ch} is left uncovered to shew y^e Girders upon which y^e Poles, Fascines or Hurdles, are laid which serve to cover y^e Bridge.</p> | <p>G Pairs of Stakes, which are presented in front, the better to shew their Structure and how they are fastened.</p> <p>H The Distance from one Stake to another, which is two feet, just equal to y^e Bigness of y^e Beam.</p> <p>I Pieces of Wood across, the uppermost of which supports the Beam, and the other serves to join the Stakes together, being stoppt at each end, by Pegs, which press the Stakes against the Beam, to keep it more tight.</p> <p>L Two little Props which help the cross Piece of Wood to bear up the Beam.</p> |
|---|---|

after. They even offered the Romans boats to transport their Legions. A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 55.

Cæsar thought he ought not to accept the offer of the Ubii. He looked upon it that there was neither safety nor dignity, for himself and the Roman army to pass in boats. The building a bridge on a river so rapid, so wide and so deep, (for it was below the place where Cologne is built that he prepared to pass it) was, without doubt, a work of great difficulty. But Cæsar, accustomed to vanquish all obstacles, attempted the undertaking, and succeeded in it.

I shall here insert the description which he gives of this bridge, only adding some circumstances which he has left to be supplied; but which to me seem to be necessary eclairsissements. *The description of a bridge built over the Rhine by Cæsar.* If I am mistaken in any thing, I hope I shall be excused as a writer obliged by the necessity of his subject to speak of matters widely distant from his profession; but at the same time very willing to correct himself, if the masters of the art will vouchsafe to point out his errors.

There were joined together stakes in pairs, at the distance of two feet from one another, each a foot and a half thick, and of a length proportioned to the depth of the river, and after they were sharpened at the ends, and perhaps armed with iron, when they went down into the water with machines, afterwards they were drove in with strokes of the rammer, not perpendicularly, but inclined according to the direction of the river. Over-against these two stakes, and below them, at the distance of forty feet, were drove in two others in like manner, which faced the first; and were inclined in one sense contrary to the current of the river. These two piles, each composed of two stakes, were

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Ant. C. 55.

kept firm by a large beam, extended from one to the other, and which being two feet in thickness, exactly filled the interval of the two stakes, and had for support the piece of wood that joined them. The heads of this beam were confined and made fast on each side, by large pegs or pins of iron, one on in the inside and the other without, so that the two piles could not be drawn together, and the two iron pins which fastened the beam to each pile mutually resisting one another, the building was so firm that by the laws of nature, the more rapid the river became, the more solidity the work gained. This is what I think the most difficult to comprehend of any part of the description. I must even confess that there is nothing that I can imagine, which fully satisfies me; therefore I leave this problem to be solved by those who are more able than myself. Besides the difficulty of the thing in itself, there seems moreover to be a contradiction between what Cæsar says here, and the precaution with which he speaks afterwards of fixing buttresses to support the bridge against the violence of the flood. This precaution seems superfluous, if the rapidity of the river augmented the solidity of the work. After this first row, another was fixed at some distance; and afterwards upon the beams, which were laid along according to the current of the stream, were laid across poles, hurdles, and without doubt earth and turfs, to form a solid and continued floor. Below the bridge * other stakes were sunk in the form of buttresses,

* The text has it, towards the lower part of the river, a vague expression, and which may give room for an interpretation different from that which I have followed.

buttresses, which supported the bridge against the violence of the water, and above at some distance, there were others to serve for a defence. So that if the barbarians let loose trunks of trees, or boats to overthrow the works, this palisade should stop the effect, and prevent their damaging the bridge.

The speed with which so great a work was executed was not less worthy of admiration, than the work itself. It was compleated in ten days, reckoning from that in which they began to bring the timber to the banks of the river. Cæsar having left a considerable body of troops at the head of the bridge on each side, entered into the territories of the Sicambri.

His exploits in Germany may be reduced to a narrow compass. He received there the deputies of some people who desired peace and friendship with him, which he granted them, after exacting hostages from them. The Sicambri retired into the deserts and forests; he ravaged their country, burnt their houses, and cut down their corn. The Suevi had done as much as the Sicambri with this difference, that, after they had put their wives, and children, and all that they possessed in safety, they assembled together, in the heart of the country, all that made the strength of the nation, that is to say, those who were in a condition to bear arms; and there they waited for the Roman army, resolved to give them a good reception. Cæsar did not think proper to go and attack them. He pretended, that he had answered all

One may conceive the stakes where they inclined to that, here spoken of, as placed before the last row of piles, and they might serve as a fore wall to break the force of the supporting them on the sides stream.

A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 55.

the different views he had in passing the Rhine, since he had spread the terror of his name in Germany, had revenged himself of the Sicambri, and delivered the Ubii from the oppression of the Suevi. Therefore he continued but eighteen days on the other side the river, after which he repassed it, and broke down his bridge, gained from his enterprize the frivolous glory of having done that which no Roman ever attempted before him.

*He forms
the design
of going
over into
Great-
Britain.*

His taste for things that made a noise inspired him immediately after with another project of the same kind as the preceding, and of as little use. This was the going over into Great-Britain, and carrying the war into a new world; for it was upon this foot, that Great-Britain, was then regarded, so little known at that time, that many yet doubted whether it was an Island or not, and, according to Tacitus, there was no certainty of it till above an hundred years after, when the Roman fleet, by order of Agricola, went round it. Cæsar, nevertheless, every where speaks of it as an Island; and such also is the language and opinion of Strabo, an able and judicious Geographer, who wrote in the beginning of the reign of Tiberius.

His motives for it.

Cæsar coloured the ambition which carried him into Great-Britain under the pretext of justice and utility. He said that the Britons had almost always sent succours to the Gauls in their wars against the Romans; and he added, that it would be very advantageous to him to know the ports and coasts of this island, the manners of the inhabitants, and their method of fighting. Now, this was what he could not do, without going over thither himself. For the

the Gauls had no knowledge of it, but what was very confused, because there were only their Merchants who made any voyages thither, and they did not penetrate far into the country, so that they had no precise idea but of the ports wherein they carried on their trade. I know not of what utility to Cæsar the knowledge could be, that he desired to gain of all that regarded Great-Britain, if he had not in his mind the design of one day making the conquest of it; but the Gauls at the present gave him no leisure to do it.

To these motives Suetonius adds one very frivolous; which was the passion he had for the pearls produced in the British ocean. The extravagant luxury of Cæsar might authorize such a suspicion; but on all accounts he was much deceived in such an attempt. These pearls are dark and cloudy, and do not at all come near to that fine water which sets a value upon those of the east.

*Suet. Cæf.
n. 12.*

The season was already far advanced, when Cæsar formed the project we are speaking of. This was a new spur added to his natural activity. He came therefore with all speed into the country of the Morini, from whence he knew the passage was the shortest to go over to Great-Britain. He got together all the vessels that was possible from the neighbouring countries, and sent the fleet that he had caused to be built the year before for the war against the Veneti. As he had not less foresight than vivacity and fire, he endeavoured to inform himself of every thing of importance concerning the country he prepared to enter; and but little satisfied with the lights that he could obtain from the Gauls, he sent a Roman Officer,

He prepares every thing for his passage.

A. R. 697. named C. Volusenus, with a man of war, to
Ant. C. 55. visit the coasts of Great-Britain, and afterwards
to come himself and make a report of all he
had seen and observed. Volusenus was five
days at sea, and not daring to go ashore in any
place, he could only give an account of the
outward parts and approaches to the island.

In the mean time, a rumour of Cæsar's design had spread itself in Great-Britain, and giving an alarm, several people sent him Deputies, to make their submission, and offered to give him hostages. Cæsar was of opinion that he should make his advantage of this favourable disposition; he answered the Deputies of the Barbarians graciously, and sent them back into their country, accompanied by Comius the Artesian, whom he had made King of his nation, and in whom he had at that time much confidence. This Comius, whose name was known and considered in Great-Britain, had orders to go through the different People, to exhort them to acknowledge the Roman Empire, and to declare the approaching arrival of Cæsar.

The care of getting together the fleet kept Cæsar some time in the country of the Morini. His presence was not ineffectual. This nation had always hitherto obstinately refused to submit themselves. Now the greatest part of the Cantons that composed it, came by their Deputies to ask pardon for what was past, and declared that they would obey him in all that he should order for the time to come. Nothing could have happened to him more *à propos*. Charmed with not leaving behind him any subject of uneasiness while he should be in Great-Britain, he received the submission of the
Morini,

Morini, and contented himself with exacting from them many hostages. A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 55.

The fleet of Cæsar consisted in long vessels, as he called them, that is to say, Gallies armed for war, and in ships of burthen that went with sails. He embarked two Legions upon fourscore ships of burthen; but he does not tell us what number of troops went on board the gallies, which he distributed in squadrons under the command of the Quæstor, and of his Lieutenant Generals. For transporting the cavalry he destinated eighteen ships of burthen, which were detained by the wind in a part situated eight thousand paces above that where he appeared himself. He does not name here either one or the other of these ports: But if that * from whence he departed this year was Port Itius, where he embarked the year following to make the same voyage, the lower port seems to be Wissan, and the upper Calais. At his embarking himself he left a Lieutenant-General with troops to guard the port; and he sent the rest of his army under the command of two other Lieutenant Generals, Titurius Sabinus, and Aurunculeius Cotta, into the Cantons of the Morini, who had not yet submitted, and upon the lands of the Menapii.

All the dispositions being made, Cæsar took the advantage of a favourable wind to go out of the port. He went away about midnight, and sent his cavalry to embark at another port, with orders to follow immediately: But he was very ill obeyed in this part of his commands. As to himself, rowing at the head of his fleet,

* *The thing is probable in itself, and Strabo puts it out of doubt. Book IV. p. 199.*

A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 55.

he began to see land towards the fourth hour of the day. The shore that he discovered was not proper for a descent. It was commanded by downs from the top of which darts might be thrown to the very edge of the water, and all these downs were covered with troops of Barbarians. He therefore ordered his people to drop anchor, and wait till all the other ships should join them. At the ninth hour, assisted at the same time, by wind and tide, he advanced eight thousand paces farther, and found an easy and even shore where he resolved to land.

The Barbarians had not lost sight of the Roman fleet, and having sent their cavalry before and their chariots (for chariots were in use among them in their battles) they brought their infantry with all the diligence they could to be time enough to oppose the landing, with all their forces. The Roman vessels drew too much water for them to be able to approach the shore, so that the soldiers were to throw themselves into the water. It may be easily conceived, how much troops heavily armed, accustomed to fight upon firm and solid land, and who were not used to places where there were waters of any depth, had a disadvantage against the agil and brisk Barbarians encumbered with nothing, and who knew the places perfectly well.

Their courage began to fail the Romans. The person who bore the eagle of the tenth Legion re-animated them. As he saw his comrades dared not throw themselves into the water, the depth of which dismayed them. *Follow me*, cried he to them, *if you would not have this eagle fall into the hands of the Barbarians.*

In

In pronouncing these words, he jumped himself the first out of the vessel. The dread of the ignominy overcame that of the danger, and all the others followed. At the same time Cæsar filled the skiffs and light frigates with soldiers to go and assist those who fought in the water, and moreover what principally contributed to the success of this descent, was that he ordered the galleys to make a motion to take the enemy in flank, and cast upon them a shower of darts with machines in use among the Romans, but entirely unknown to these Islanders; so that besides the number of men they lost, the very sight of these strange machines struck them with a horrible fear. At length, after many pains and dangers, the Romans gained the shore; and as soon as they had set their feet on land, they pushed the Barbarians so vigorously, that they absolutely dispersed them: But as Cæsar's cavalry was not yet arrived, it was impossible to pursue them.

The Barbarians were easily discouraged. Thus these same People, who came with so much vigour to oppose the descent of the Roman army, not being able to succeed in it, sent Deputies to Cæsar, who were ordered to make all manner of protestations of submission and obedience. They restored to him also Comius King of the Artesians, whom they had kept prisoner. Cæsar heard them with mildness, and required hostages of them. Every thing seemed to be in the way to peace and a good agreement. But it was fear alone that guided these Barbarians; and an opportunity presenting itself to contravene their engagements, and to renew the war, they would not let it slip.

The

A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 35.

The submissive behaviour on the side of the Barbarians.

A. R. 697.

Ant. C. 55.

The caval-

ry of Cæ-

sar cannot

land.

The fourth day after Cæsar's arrival in Great-Britain, they perceived from the camp the eighteen ships of burthen which brought the cavalry. But a furious tempest arose at that instant, which dispersed a part of them in the Channel, where they run very great danger, and found themselves happy to be able to gain the *terra firma*.

His fleet is ill used by the high tides.

The night of this same day it was full moon, and approaching the Equinox. The concurrence of these two circumstances produced very high tides. Cæsar knew nothing of this, and had taken no precaution against a danger that he was ignorant of. Thus, both the galleys, that were dry upon the shore, and the transports, that were at anchor, were raised up, tossed about, and beat to pieces by the waves, without there being a possibility to apply any remedy to so great an evil. This accident threw Cæsar into great perplexity. His return became, as it were, impossible, since he had no other ships than those which had been lately so ill treated, and which wanted every thing necessary to refit them. On the other hand, having reckoned to winter in Gaul, he had brought with him neither baggage, nor sufficient provisions of corn.

The Barbarians re-new the war.

The Barbarians seeing their enemies without ships, without provisions, and without cavalry, conceived the hope of exterminating them, and making the Romans for ever lay aside thoughts of entering into their Island. Besides, they judged of the small number of Cæsar's troops, by the little space of ground his camp took up; and although this was not a certain sign, because the Roman army, as I have already said, had no baggage, yet they were

were not much deceived, and they really had a great superiority in numbers. They began therefore to league anew, and gather together privately in bodies of troops, concealing their design, by not declaring themselves openly; but waiting for a favourable moment, to surprize the Romans, and fall upon them with advantage.

But Cæsar was not an enemy to be easily surprized. The situation in which he was, made him foretel what the Barbarians ought to think and do; and as they gave over sending him hostages, the proof of their revolt was plain. Therefore he prepared himself for the event. He sent every day to cut corn in the fields, and made stores of it in his camp. He sacrificed the ships that were the most damaged, and took the timber and the iron of them to refit those that were the least so, causing other materials and instruments necessary for the work to be brought from the *terra firma*. By these means he made up the loss of twelve ships, and put the rest in a condition to keep at sea.

In the mean time, the Barbarians found the opportunity they sought. They had observed, that all the country about being reaped, there remained but one place, where the Romans could come to cut corn. They posted themselves in the neighbourhood, lying in ambush in a forest; and Cæsar, as they had foreseen, having sent the seventh legion into the quarter that they encompassed, while the Roman soldiers dispersed themselves on the plain, with only sickles in their hands instead of swords, and thought of nothing but reaping of corn, the Barbarians sallied briskly from their coverts, attacked the foragers, killed some of them, and

A. R. 697.
Ant. C. 55.

and brought trouble and confusion among the rest. They even undertook to hem them in, by extending their chariots of war about them. This was the manner of their using these chariots in their battle.

*The use
that they
made of
their cha-
riots in
battle.*

They began with driving them with impetuosity quite cross the ranks of the enemy; and when they had penetrated into the intervals, they jumped upon the ground and fought on foot. During this time the equerries went at a little distance, but were always near enough to take up their masters, if they saw them too much pressed. Cæsar, it seems, did not despise this manner of fighting, which united, he said, the lightness of the horsemen with the stability of the foot. For the rest, they had a surprising address and agility, accustomed by long use, either to stop their horses going down a steep road full speed, or to turn short when they wanted space. They were oftentimes seen getting out of the chariots sliding along the beam, and posting themselves at the end of it, then in an instant regaining their chariot, and appearing in their seats.

The Roman legion thus assailed could not have saved itself, if succour had not come to it. But the advanced guard of the camp observing a cloud of dust on the side where they knew it went, they gave notice of it to Cæsar, who lost not a moment. He took with him immediately the two cohorts which were the guard, and after having ordered two others to replace them, and all the rest of the troops to arm themselves with speed and follow him; he marched to the place where the battle was fought. He found his people in bad order, and very much troubled to defend themselves.

His

His presence re-established every thing, stopp'd ^{A. R. 697.} the rage of the enemy, and re-animat'd the ^{Ant. C. 55.} courage of the Romans. Nevertheless, he did not judge it proper to provoke the Barbarians too far, and contented himself to carry his legions back to the camp.

The Islanders had the boldness to come and attack him there at the end of a few days, during which they had strengthened and increased their troops. Cæsar, who had no cavalry, saw very well that he could not gain an advantage over them altogether decisive. However, he was not willing to refuse the combat, but endeavoured to aid himself by thirty horsemen that Cornius the Artesian had brought with him, and went out of his intrenchments to give battle. The event was as he had foreseen. The enemy fled, but with very little loss. The Romans only laid every thing waste in the places about, and burnt some of their villages.

This was enough to determine the Barbarians to renew the negotiation which they had broken off. On the same day Cæsar saw the ^{*A treaty between Cæsar and these Islanders.*} Deputies arrive, who came to demand peace of him. This was what he desired. He feared ^{*Cæsar re-passes into Gaul.*} the approach of the equinox, the time when the sea grows outrageous, and his ships were not in a condition to resist a storm. He therefore laid hold of the opportunity to retreat with honour, by ordering them to furnish him with a number of hostages double to that he had stipulated for the first time, and that they should bring them to him in Gaul. The Islanders imagined that they should be the masters of the execution of such a treaty. They promised every thing to get these troublesome strangers out of their island, who, on their side, were very

A. R. 697. very desirous to go away. Immediately after
 Ant. C. 55. the treaty was concluded, Cæsar made ready in
 the first fair weather, and went back into Gaul.

Some cantons of the Morini and Menapii,
 still persisted in their obstinacy, and refused to
 acknowledge the Romans for masters. Cæsar
 ordered them to be attacked by his Lieutenants,
 who could not yet make an end of subduing
 them. He established all his winter-quarters in
 the country of the Belgæ, and received their
 hostages from two of the people with whom he
 had made war in Great-Britain. All the others
 made no account of their engagements. And
 this was all the fruit that Cæsar had from an ex-
 pedition, which was hazardous, and wherein he
 risked a great deal more than he could gain;
 for all the Island was at that time very poor,
 without gold or silver; and all the booty he
 could hope for, were gross and brutal prisoners.
 For an object so small did he expose himself,
 as we have seen, to dangers as great as ever he
 ran in his life. Nevertheless, he made a great
 vaunting of the advantages he had obtained in
 a country, and over a people, the existence of
 whom was scarce known before him; and the
 noise of it was so great in Rome, that they
 decreed in honour of him, thanksgivings to the
 gods for twenty days.

Cic ad
 Fam. VII.
 7. & ad
 Att. IV.
 16.

End of VOL. XII.

